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Through Gendered Lenses

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Contents

Introduction

As Gender Studies students at Notre Dame, we have learned to view the world through gendered lenses. In conversations both outside and inside of the classroom, we explore the ways that gender intersects with other social identities and categories to shape our experiences of ourselves and the world around us.

This year's journal is a unique compilation of student essays that span a wide range of academic disciplines. Triota always aims to honor an intersectional perspective on gender, and we are committed to decolonial, antiracist, feminist, and LGBTQ+ affirming practices. With pieces analyzing television shows, animated cartoons, and a variety of magazines, the thirteenth edition of *Through Gendered Lenses* has a focus on media representations of gender and sexuality.

Janelle Renterghem designed this year's cover art to emphasize the creation of media and the complexity of viewership, signigied through the film projector. While this issue contains several pieces of media analysis, we remain committed to interdisciplinary scholarship. You will read commentary on subjects ranging from the U.S. prison system, to Chilean feminism, to Indigenous resurgence, and much more.

Throughout our four years at Notre Dame, we have been challenged to develop as people and scholars in order to view the world critically through gendered lenses. There is not a monolithic Gender Studies experience. Even among our small trio of managing editors, we will be entering various fields after graduation, including medicine, academia, and education. Although we have different plans, we all agree that we will carry the lessons from our Gender Studies education into the next stages of our careers and lives. We wish we could sign up everyone who reads this journal for Introduction to Gender Studies. We are not allowed to do that, so we hope that reading this edition will convince you to sign yourself up. At the very least, we hope it helps you to view the world *Through Gendered Lenses*.

Sophia Kics '22
Janelle Renterghem '22
Ashton Weber '22

TGL Managing Editors

Acknowledgements

This year marks the twelfth edition of *Through Gendered Lenses,* which highlights undergraduate Gender Studies research and scholarship at the University of Notre Dame.

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Finally, we are grateful for the contributions of the student scholars whose work is the foundation of *Through Gendered Lenses*. We are honored to lift up your work as exemplary of Gender Studies undergraduate research at Notre Dame.

The Gender Studies Program

Gender Studies at Notre Dame is an interdisciplinary academic program committed to excellence in teaching and research related to gender and sexuality. We develop, promote, and support research, creative work, pedagogy, service, and activism that respect human dignity, foster solidarity, and build toward the common good locally, nationally, and globally. We are a resource to the Notre Dame community regarding issues related to gender and sexuality, and we work to bridge rigorous scholarship with student development and leadership.

Our curriculum offers a diverse array of courses drawn from across the University and provides students with the tools to critically explore gender as it intersects with other social categories such as sexuality, race, ethnicity, class, age, religion, and nationality. In Gender Studies courses, students examine the historical development and cultural variations of gender in relation to the social formation of human identities, relationships, practices, technologies, and institutions. Our curriculum equips students with an intellectual framework through which the intersectional analysis of gender can be critically and creatively applied to their other coursework, as well as to their personal, professional, and community roles. Our undergraduate students benefit from internship programs that emphasize the holistic and practical applications of a Gender Studies education, and thus allow students to connect their learning with community service and positive social change.

For more information about Gender Studies at Notre Dame, visit genderstudies.nd.edu.

Iota Iota Iota:
The Gender Studies Honor Society

Iota Iota Iota, or Triota, is an Undergraduate Honor Society composed of sophomore, junior, and senior Gender Studies majors and minors. Notre Dame's Alpha Phi chapter of Triota was formed in 2006, and its members are the Gender Studies Program's top students as demonstrated by their overall academic performance. All members have earned at least a 3.5 GPA in Gender Studies and a cumulative GPA of at least 3.0.

As the primary unit of undergraduate student service and leadership in the Gender Studies Program, Triota offers gender studies students multiple opportunities to engage their interests in gender issues beyond the classroom setting. Members of Triota contribute to an environment of academic excellence, encourage undergraduate research and scholarship in Gender Studies, foster relationships among students and faculty, promote interest and awareness of gender issues, and academically represent the Gender Studies Program

If you are a Gender Studies major or minor interested in becoming a member of Triota, please visit genderstudies.nd.edu to learn more about us or to download an application.

Editorial Board

Euphoria and the Queer Girl Relationship

By Janelle Renterghem

Janelle Renterghem is a senior studying Neuroscience and Gender Studies. Originally from Wayland, Massachusetts, she joined the Notre Dame community as a resident of Pasquerilla East Hall. She is one of the managing editors of *Through Gendered Lenses* and has been a Triota member for three years. She has been involved on- and off-campus as the service chair of the neuroscience club, a chemistry lab teaching assistant, and a volunteer at Memorial Hospital in South Bend. She thanks Mary Kearney for inspiring this paper as part of her Girls' Media and Cultural Studies course. After graduation, Janelle hopes to pursue a career in medicine focused on women's health.

Girls are turning to media more than ever to teach them about sexuality. However, media depictions of teen-girl romance tend to fall short with unrealistic, normative, and shallow representations of girls' sexuality. Season 1 of the 2019 HBO Max drama, *Euphoria*, revolutionizes depictions of teen-girl sexuality through its progressive exploration of a non-normative queer girl relationship. As explored by Whitney Monaghan, in her book, *Queer Girls, Temporality and Screen Media*, depictions of queer girl relationships on television generally have three shortcomings; female characters are represented in a trope of sexual confusion, queer girls' stories function almost exclusively within the coming-out narrative, and these relationships lack serialization in shows (44). *Euphoria* shows the individual stories and collective romantic saga of two girls: a cisgender, biracial, recovering drug-addict named Rue, and a white, transgender girl named Jules. I argue that their love story combats all three of Monaghan's critiques of queer girl narratives.

The queer love story transpires between two main characters, Rue and Jules, who are played by Zendaya and Hunter Schafer, respectively. The first season of *Euphoria* has eight hour-long episodes that were released in 2019, which follow a group of teenagers as they navigate high school. While *Euphoria* offers multiple progressive insights on other significant aspects of teen girl sexuality, such as teen pregnancy, pornography, and sexual violence, I will focus on the queer girl romance that progresses throughout the first season. Specifically, I will explore how Rue and Jules' collective romance fights the queer girl television stereotypes presented by Monaghan and how their non-normative individual identities contribute to this narrative.

First, Rue and Jules are never confused about their sexuality. As stated by Monaghan, generally "female characters are overwhelmingly represented through narratives of sexual confusion" (45). *Euphoria* is unique in that Rue and Jules do not enter the narrative with assumed heterosexuality; the characters are introduced as queer girls and there is no sexual identity crisis to begin with (Monaghan, 45). On a similar vein, neither of the girls ever "comes out." While Rue seems to be less

sexually experienced than Jules, there is no dramatic revelation about her queer identity. Monaghan accentuates the stereotypical "climactic revelation of non-heterosexuality" that usually occurs in the coming-out narrative as a negative aspect of conventional queer girl representation (43). Thus, *Euphoria* acts in opposition to the coming-out narrative.

Both of the girls' families and friends quickly accept that they are in a romantic relationship without a "verbal expression of sexual identity" (Monaghan, 52). In the fourth episode of the series, *Shook Ones Pt. II*, Rue and Jules reunite and embrace after having a fight. Jules says, "I missed you," to which Rue replies, "I missed you too." Their mutual friend, Lexi, and Rue's sister, Gia, are watching this unfold, when Gia nonchalantly says to Lexi, "I think she's in love with her." Lexi says, "really?" and Gia responds, "yeah, like Rue is in love with Jules I think," and the girls' conversation instantly moves on. This moment is telling, as Rue's sister is presented as the most important person in her life, yet Rue never has to "come out" to Gia. In the fifth episode, *03' Bonnie and Clyde*, Rue's mother asks about Jules having slept over at their house and asks, "are you two in a relationship?" Rue replies "yeah kind of." During this conversation, Rue's mother lovingly strokes Rue's hair while she lays on her lap. Then, Rue's mother says, "it may not matter what I think, but I really like her" and Rue agrees, "yeah me too." In both scenes, Rue does not face any hurdles or dramatic spectacles in revealing her relationship with Jules. This is a refreshing twist on the queer girl relationship reveal, as the characters do not participate in a consequential "coming-out" story.

Jules also does not "come out" in terms of her transgender identity or fluid sexuality, but viewers are reminded of Jules' fluidity throughout the series by the means of numerous sexual encounters with both men and women. The lack of emphasis on Jules' coming-out about her sexuality is displayed in the third episode, where we see Jules' and her father casually discussing her relationship with Rue. When discussing their romance, Jules' father unaffectedly says, "if you two were a thing, we could all just do a family thing together, dinner or

something?" In a similar manner to Rues' mother, Jules' father simply accepts the presence of the relationship, and the insignificance of this moment marks the normalization of Jules' fluid sexuality.

The third facet of *Euphoria*'s opposition to queer girl television stereotypes is that viewers can see Rue and Jules' relationship develop throughout the entirety the show. Even though each episode briefly highlights a different character, the queer girl relationship is still always prominent in all eight episodes. Instead of being subordinated below the other heterosexual teen romances in the show, Rue and Jules' relationship is at the forefront. In Monaghan's essay, she recognizes that "queer girls are constructed as a narrative complication; such figures appear only to disappear, and this disappearance occurs upon resolution of their brief storyline" (47). But in *Euphoria*, Rue's and Jules' story *is* the storyline: the show demonstrates same-sex desire as a serial and everyday phenomenon (Monaghan, 53). The omnipresence

of the queer girl relationship throughout the show allows it to be truly explored.

Importantly, the queer girl relationship is not only serialized; it is central to the narrative and idealized, perhaps above the other heterosexual relationships in the show. While other girls in the same age group are involved in emotionally and physically abusive serialized relationships with men, Rue and Jules' long form story is romanticized. For example, two other prominent characters, Maddie and Cassie, are shown to be decidedly unsatisfied in their relationships. Maddie's boyfriend is arrested for strangling her, and Cassie's boyfriend constantly shames her for her past sexual history with other men. On the contrary, Rue and Jules are frequently shown embracing and expressing intimacy with one another. In fact, Rue consistently refers to Jules as "the best thing that has ever happened" to her. There is no abuse or shame in the relationship; despite Rue's past with drugs and Jules' complicated sexual history with older men; they love each other. Additionally, to support the serialization of their relationship, there is no final resolution or closure to their story, as the first season of the

show leaves their narrative open and unresolved for the already-renewed second season.

Individually, Rue and Jules also challenge normative girl identities often found in television. Jules complicates the narrative by representing both queer and transgender girlhood. It is important that *Euphoria* honors Jules' transgender identity but does not make it the center of her story. In a *Teen Vogue* interview with transgender teen girls, a viewer said she was "worried because a lot of transgender characters in the media are represented horribly," but ultimately was "blown away" by Jules' portrayal. The viewer also mentioned that she loved how Jules was "introduced as Jules, not as the trans girl, but just a new girl who happens to be transgender" (Sonoma). Jules is thus unique as a trans character because her gender identity is not the focus of her narrative. Many representations of trans women in films reduce them to purely their trans identity, but by doing this, "the humanity of their character is never revealed. Their hopes and dreams, the real struggles they face, and how they deal with the overall situation of the plot become lost opportunities" (Reitz, 6). As Reitz notes, trans representation in film is problematic if the story is centered around being trans, which is a trope that Jules does not corroborate in *Euphoria* given that her storyline focuses on her relationships.

Similarly, Monaghan states that, "for many years, queer audiences rarely saw themselves on television" and "when they did, it was usually as monsters or victims, objects of revulsion or pity" (45). However, Jules is shown on *Euphoria* as a strong and independent girl, not as a character requiring pity. Jules bears this favorable representation in *Euphoria* because the series is filmed through Rue's narration. Included in this representation is Jules' prominent sexuality, especially through the multitude of scenes in her underwear. In an instance when Rue is taking nude photographs for Jules, viewers can see Rue perpetually gazing at Jules' body. In this scenario, watching

girls watching other girls, the straight gaze is subverted.[1] When Jules' body is on display, it is simultaneously appreciated by the queer girl viewer in the room with her. Creating this representation of transgender and queer bodies is essential for girl viewers. Americans identify with characters that they see on the screen, and "negative stereotypes can directly impact the judgment of one group of people on another" (Reitz, 1). Because television often casts trans women as villains, it is constructive for queer girls to see Jules thriving in her environment and to see her as desirable to other boys and girls.

Additionally, through the method of childhood flashbacks, *Euphoria* utilizes Jules' character to offer viewers a depiction of transgender pre-pubescent adolescence. The retrospective expansion of Jules' story is important in offering media representation of the rarely televised journey of trans childhood. In the flashback of the fourth episode, Jules is shown as a young, feminine boy who is committed to a psychiatric hospital. Almost the entire seven-minute flashback focuses on Jules as an extremely unhappy young boy before switching back to the modern-day Jules. The only exception is a brief clip of a smiling, thirteen-year-old Jules at a doctors' office, seemingly associated with the medical side of gender transition, before the point-of-view returns to teenage Jules. An important takeaway about Jules' childhood flashback is that viewers see the beginning of her gender transition, but there is no big reveal where she "comes out." The lack of emphasis on the actual transition has weight, as the writers could have made the entire flashback, or Jules' entire plot, about her transition. Yet, viewers are introduced to Jules in the first pilot episode as a girl riding on a bicycle; she is presented to us as who she identifies as, not as this nameless and miserable young boy. Jules' on-screen representation would have been entirely different if we saw this young boy first, instead of in the fourth episode. The flashbacks are used to

[1] The straight gaze refers to media created with a heterosexual viewer in mind. In contrast, the queer gaze honors how transgender, lesbian, gay, and queer people experience viewership (Anderson).

make Jules' character more complex, not to emphasize or portray as "other" her non-normative gender identity.

Because Rue's narration idealizes and honors Jules, viewers experience a romanticized depiction of trans girlhood. This idealized version could be beneficial for trans girls to see on the screen; however, Jules' promising depiction of trans girlhood is not a realistic representation of many trans girls' experiences. *Euphoria* fails to emphasize that Jules comes from a privileged background where she was able to transition at thirteen and had a safe place to live. Also, as noted by the trans girls interviewed for *Teen Vogue,* Jules has "passing privilege," which is defined as a phenomenon where "members of oppressed, stigmatized, or discriminated-against groups improve their lives by being misidentified as member of an advantaged group" (Silvermint). Jules does occasionally experience harassment from cisgender men, but because she performs normative femininity, such as through her clothes, and she is white, blonde and thin, she is punished less for her gender. In reality, 55.5% of LGBT students feel unsafe at school because of their sexual orientation, and 37.8% because of their gender expression (Kosciw). In some ways, Jules avoids consequences at school by channeling hegemonic femininity. [2] In episode seven, she says: "I don't want to just 'conquer femininity' but obliterate it." Despite conforming to feminine ideals, Jules' personal emphasis on displaying her femininity is an important component of her trans girl identity, as she rejects the notion that trans girls must sacrifice power with increased feminine gender performance (Rietz, 2). So, Jules' gender expression has multifaceted consequences for trans girl viewers, who may not be able to relate to her privileged identity but can still watch a trans girl have unapologetic autonomy over her gender performance. This is important in

[2] Most acclaimed way of being a "woman." It is the set of idealistic qualities and attributes a woman can possess that will earn her the most authority and social power (Gillis and Jacobs p.59). Hegemonic femininity is at the top of the social hierarchy of femininities.

confronting the shortcomings of queer girl narratives in media, which do not often include the experience of trans girlhood.

Rue complicates girlhood through different methods than Jules. With Rue, audiences are exposed to a girl who is struggling to survive and stay afloat. Rue is a drug addict, biracial, and the daughter of a single mother, and her family struggles financially, largely because of her father's medical bills before he passed away due to cancer. She challenges hegemonic femininity in her physical appearance with unconventional makeup and baggy clothes, as well as in her blunt attitude and indelicate demeanor. This includes swearing at others, taking up space when she sits, and an impenetrable frown. These traits complicate Rue's role in the romantic narrative, as she takes on a masculine aesthetic. However, it is a notable flaw of *Euphoria* that Rue, a biracial woman, is portrayed in this manner, as queer women of color, especially black lesbians, have historically been represented as more masculine in film media (Moore, 210). Through her non-hegemonic gender performance, Rue is clearly placed into the "at-risk" discourse category described by Anita Harris, in which girls of color often find themselves the focus of "general moral concern about juvenile delinquency, nihilism, and antisocial attitudes" (25). As stated by Harris, girls labeled to this category are likely to be middle class and of ethnic minorities and reside in a subjectivity of "failed" girlhood. As an addict, Rue exemplifies this discourse assigned to girls of color, whose problems are rarely attributed to structural inequalities. African-American girls with addiction issues are more likely to be constructed as opting for "individual bad choices consciously taken up through unruliness and defiance" (Harris, 35). Nonetheless, Rue does offer viewers a window into challenging assumptions of "at-risk" discourse applied to girls of color; instead of placing personal blame on Rue for her drug addiction, *Euphoria* shows how easy, and seemingly harmless, it was for her to start with a single oxycodone pill taken from her father during his cancer treatment. While Rue still confirms certain aspects of "at-risk" discourse just from being an addict, the show

begins to distribute the blame for her drug problem away from personal decisions.

Stuck in a paradox between her drug addiction and her desire to please Jules, Rue stops using drugs and tries to get clean for her. Through a flashback summary of her sexual history in episode four, we see that Rue was high on Xanax mixed with alcohol when she lost her virginity to a boy, which was shown as an unpleasant and undesirable experience where Rue lays still while frowning at the ceiling. However, this can be compared to the positive ambience produced by her time with Jules. Rue's individual sexuality contributes to the queer girl narrative when these beautiful and sober moments with Jules are juxtapositioned with Rue's normative heterosexual experiences. For example, the conclusion of episode four yields an intimate embrace between Rue and Jules in bed, followed by a montage of their joyful moments together, including them laughing, kissing, and hugging against a soundtrack of violins playing "colori di dicembre." It is impossible for the viewer to miss how happy Jules makes Rue. As a result, their entire relationship is presented as meaningful, and *Euphoria* finally provides a queer girl narrative that truly explores the depth of a relationship beyond two individuals' coming out story. Rue's complicated identity adds an important dimension to the queer girl narrative, which is significant for *Euphoria*, given that she is the viewers' narrator and liaison into this world.

Ultimately, it is momentous how these two non-normative and at-risk characters come together for a relationship. Both characters spend time in dangerous territories of girlhood, like the psychiatric hospital for Jules, due to self-harm, and an addiction rehabilitation facility for Rue after an overdose. Through both girls being institutionalized for their problems, it is evident how their parallel experiences align them as allies in their environment. A takeaway for queer girls from this narrative is the idea that they are not alone in their mental health struggles. Rue and Jules bond over the medicalization of their struggles, and they support each other through the endeavors of girlhood.

Despite Rue and Jules' progressive queer girl narrative, there are significant flaws in the relatability of *Euphoria* that can limit the power of its influence. Rue and Jules may provide depictions of non-normative girlhood, but their gender performances are not necessarily reasonably attainable. Specifically, the actresses' bodies are incredibly unrealistic. While it was salient for *Euphoria* to cast Zendaya as Rue, a biracial woman, and Hunter Schafer as Jules, a transgender woman, both women are incredibly successful models, meaning that they to some extent fit into normative beauty ideals, and this complicates their relatability when representing marginalized stories of girlhood. One has to use their imagination to picture a world in which Zendaya does not fit in at school (Tally, 327). And, as previously mentioned, Hunter Schafer, as a thin, blonde, white woman, provides a limited scope to the struggles of trans girlhood due to her multiple privileged identities.

Additionally, while *Euphoria* is revolutionary for teen girls, it is not targeted, nor necessarily accessible to them. It is critical to note that HBO Max is a subscription service that costs $14.99 a month, and requires users to be 18 years old, which means that teen girls are likely relying on their parents buying into the subscription. Given that HBO Max has many other popular R-rated shows, such as *Game of Thrones*, it is also possible that parents would not be eager to give their teen daughters access to the platform. And, paying $180 a year for a supplemental television service limits the audience to girls of privileged backgrounds. Even though HBO Max requires subscribers to be at least 18 years old, *Euphoria* is HBO's first teen drama and provided the platform's youngest audience: 18-34-year-olds accounted for two thirds of viewers[3] (Porter). While young people do make up most of the audience, even the show's stars recognized that the R-rated show possesses extremely mature elements. Before *Euphoria's* premiere,

[3] Given that HBO requires subscribers to ensure that they are 18 years of age when signing up, and that family accounts can have profiles for multiple children, data on viewers under 18 cannot be obtained. There is also no verification to confirm that subscribers who claim they are over 18 are truly over 18.

Zendaya reminded her fans that "*Euphoria* is for mature audiences . . . there are scenes that are graphic, hard to watch and can be triggering" (Mallenbaum). And, as Kearney notes, "the most significant effect of these barriers to alternative forms of entertainment is that too many young girls are left with a narrowly constricted view of female adolescence." The consequence of *Euphoria*'s restricted access is that girls who could benefit from seeing its expanded representation of queer girls might not have access to it. So even though *Euphoria* provides a trailblazing depiction of non-normative girlhood, girls face significant barriers in reaping the benefits of this representation.

Euphoria is an extensive representation of teen sexuality, including topics like abusive heterosexual relationships, webcamming, teen pregnancy, and more. It possesses racial, sexual, and gender diversity in its cast, as well as the stories they represent, while combatting important teen topics like toxic masculinity, body positivity, and addiction. However, there is still more to be done for the representation of queer girls in television, as well as non-normative girl identities, especially in the types of bodies and actresses that are selected to perform these narratives. Queer girls must have realistic and worthwhile representation in television so that they may dream in their own image (Ducille, 50). This means queer girl narratives must be about more than just a coming-out revelation and their relationships must be serialized across television series. Content like *Euphoria* also needs to be accessible to younger teenage girls, especially those with marginalized identities who lack representation in media. Viewers, including trans girls, may be responding well to *Euphoria*, but this is only the beginning for improving queer girl television representation. Ultimately, *Euphoria* is a good start for queer girls in media, but it is not the end.

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Mojo Jojo vs. The Powerpuff Girls: The Use of Villanization to Construct Identity

By Alexis Moskala

Alexis Moskala is a senior with majors in English and Film, Television, & Theatre. She is from Pittsburgh, PA, and on campus, she is involved in FlipSide, Women's Boxing, and the Curling Club. As a Writing Center Tutor, she is a proud member of The Writing Irish. The following piece is Alexis' final paper that she wrote for Professor Mary Celeste Kearney's course, "Girls' Media and Cultural Studies." Alexis would like to thank Professor Kearney for all of her guidance and for inspiring her students to explore the world of identity studies. After graduation, Alexis will be enrolling in the ACE program at Notre Dame.

The Powerpuff Girls is a television show that has been lauded by scholars and fans alike for its feminist portrayal of three young girls as superheroes (Bowen; Van Fuqua). This empowering portrayal of girlhood could lead one to believe that the show is full of positive ideals and role models for young children. Is this the case, though? What about the characters other than the Powerpuff Girls? What about the villains? *The Powerpuff Girls* is an animated, episodic TV show that was created by Craig McCracken and produced by Hanna-Barbera for the Cartoon Network channel. The show ran for six seasons from November 18, 1998, to March 25, 2005, for a total of seventy-eight episodes (IMDb). The program is commonly associated with the superhero genre, as its dominant topic is focused on the struggle between good and evil. The show features the Powerpuff Girls (Blossom, Bubbles, and Buttercup), three sisters with superpowers, who protect the city of Townsville from destruction at the hands of evil. In their crime-fighting adventures, they face a wide variety of (mostly male) villains. In addition to their moral differences, the girls are also visually distinct from these villains as a result of at least one differing identity trait. The primary adversary of the Powerpuff Girls is an intersectional non normative character named Mojo Jojo. While the heroic Powerpuff Girls are white, middle-class females that are aligned with science, the villainous Mojo Jojo is a non-white male whose nefarious behaviors place him outside of the normal class system and align him with religion. The way in which Mojo Jojo's identities, which are mostly non-normative, are visually related to his villainous actions leads the viewer to associate his identity categories with evil. Furthermore, his character's moral opposition to the Powerpuff Girls helps to link the girls' contrasting, normative identities, which might otherwise be invisible, to their goodness.

Media texts, such as *The Powerpuff Girls,* play a significant role in how people, especially children, come to view the world and the people around them. Lisa Duke and Peggy Kreshel note the constant ways in which we, as a society, construct our concepts of identity, especially in relation to femininity, in "Negotiating Femininity: Girls in

Early Adolescence Read Teen Magazines." They remark, "Every day, we participate in the discourse of femininity: in an infinite number of ways, we create and perpetuate an understanding of what it means to be a woman in our society" (Duke and Kreshel 48). The television screen is one of the "infinite number of ways" in which the female gender identity is constructed. *The Powerpuff Girls'* status as a television show means that the identities portrayed through their characters affects their viewers' perceptions on those identities and their place in the world. The choices that the animators made when designing their characters and storylines have real-world consequences. The visual portrayal of the show's characters and their interactions with others on screen also contributes to the wider discourse in our society about what is and what is not acceptable for girls, especially if one hopes to align with the show's supposedly "empowering" main characters: the Powerpuff Girls.

While the identities present on television shows influence our social understanding, it is important to note that the depiction of normative identities on screen has become so ubiquitous that their significance often goes unnoticed. This concept becomes relevant when one realizes that the Powerpuff Girls fit into almost every normative identity category that it is possible for them to inhabit as girls. Buttercup, Blossom, and Bubbles are each white, middle-class, girls that are raised by their single father, Professor Utonium, and live in a large house in the suburbs of Townsville. If their normative identities were to go unnoticed, the viewer would miss their contribution to the Powerpuff Girls' label as "the perfect girls" ("The Rowdyruff Boys" 1999). In "Dyes and Dolls: Multicultural Barbie and the Merchandising of Difference," Anne DuCille discusses how the commonality in the depiction of normative identities leads to their invisibility using an anecdote on her own childhood experience playing with dolls. DuCille remarks,

I did not take note of [the absence of her own (Black) racial identity] among the rubber skin pinkness of Betsy Wetsy, the bald-headed whiteness of Tiny Tears, and the blue eyes blondeness of Patty

Play Pal… Caught up in fantasy, … I neither noticed nor cared that the dolls I played with did not look like me. The make-believe world to which I willingly surrendered more than just my disbelief was thoroughly and profoundly white (DuCille 48).

While DuCille was talking specifically about dolls, a similar phenomenon happens with other forms of entertainment, such as television shows. The domination of normative identities, such as the "white, suburban, and middle-class" categories, in Hollywood films and television shows also causes consumers to become numb to depictions of those identities and, in some cases, to take the significance of them for granted (Tally 317).

Although the audience could initially miss the Powerpuff Girls' normative identities, the show's superhero-villain dynamic helps to construct the girls in opposition to their non-normative villains. Since the show is a part of the superhero genre and focuses on the girls' fighting crime, it adheres to a model where the morality of the villain and the superhero(es) are opposed. In this dynamic, the superhero's identity being constructed as "good" relies on an "evil" or "bad" villain that the viewer can compare them to. The choice to construct a character in contrast to another has an impact on the viewers because, as Julie Dobrow notes in her journal article, "Cartoons and Stereotypes," kids notice the differences presented to them in cartoons (Dobrow et al.).

In *The Powerpuff Girls,* this dynamic of difference takes on a deeper level, as the villains (such as Mojo Jojo) fall into one or more identity categories that are non-normative. *The Powerpuff Girls* presents their audience with a representation of girlhood that is constructed in opposition to both the morality of the villains, as well as their identity categories. One such villain, Mojo Jojo, is an evil monkey with green skin and black fur who stirs trouble in the city of Townsville with his schemes to destroy the city, as well as the Powerpuff Girls. He is a mad scientist that also dabbles in the occult and is associated with religion as a result of the turban like helmet he wears. His identities are non-normative because he is not white, middle-class, or aligned with

conventional science. While the portrayal of the Powerpuff Girls' normative identities on screen could be taken for granted, the way in which Mojo Jojo's non-normativity is visually associated with his villainy brings the girls' normative identities to the forefront and helps to align their normativity more clearly with the "good."

Although Mojo Jojo's male identity is considered normative in our actual society, the show's focus on the Powerpuff Girls shifts the normative label to the female gender. Through his evil acts with relation to the male identity and masculinity, Mojo Jojo's gender identity becomes villainized. The male identity of his character is visually discernible through his more masculine features, such as his bulky stature and his deep, gravelly voice. Beyond just his presentation as a male, Mojo Jojo also prioritizes traditional male values. In "The Rowdyruff Boys," Mojo Jojo is determined to create his own, evil version of the Powerpuff Girls. Once he has acquired the formula for the girls from Professor Utonium, he remarks that "sugar, spice, and everything nice" are "too girlish" and that he needs something "tougher, harder, and more manly" ("The Rowdyruff Boys" 1999). This rejection of the girlish ingredients in favor of "manly," or masculine, substitutions for his supervillain creations aligns Mojo Jojo's immoral values with the male gender. This vilification of the male gender is furthered as the ingredients that Mojo Jojo needs to create the boys, "snips, snails, and puppy dog tails," are all readily available to him in prison ("The Rowdyruff Boys" 1999). As a result, the immoral connotations associated with prison are transferred to the Rowdyruff Boys. To obtain his last ingredient, the audience even sees Mojo Jojo rip a tail off of the prison dog, emphasizing a sense of cruelty associated with the creation of boys. The boys that result from Mojo Jojo's perversion of the Powerpuff Girls' formula are the Rowdyruff Boys, an aggressive and rude group of three villainous brothers. Since they are the product of Mojo Jojo's prioritization of masculine qualities, their evil personalities and troublesome traits can be seen as a commentary on the immorality of the male gender.

Mojo Jojo's alignment with the male identity and its connection to his evil deeds contrasts the female identity of the Powerpuff Girls and helps the viewer to relate femininity with goodness. His villainous attempt to create his own, evil version of the Powerpuff Girls even directly references the differences between his ingredients and the girls' ingredients. While Mojo Jojo's "manly" ingredients create masculine supervillains, the "traditionally feminine" ingredients of the Powerpuff Girls (sugar, spice, and everything nice) create feminine superheroes (Van Fuqua 209). The contrasting morality between the outcome of the formula depending on the gender-alignment of the ingredients helps to construct the female identity of the Powerpuff Girls as "good," or moral, in contrast to the "bad" Rowdyruff Boys. Mojo Jojo even goes on to remark that his boys were made to "attack justice, nobility...directly between the pillars of peace and love...the Powerpuff Girls" ("The Rowdyruff Boys" 1999). This remark made by Mojo Jojo is highly significant to the audience's understanding of the Powerpuff Girls' female identity because he is explicitly pitting his boys against the morally upright qualities that he then assigns to the girls.

In addition to the show's critique of Mojo Jojo for his male identity, which allows the show to present the girls as the ideal identity category, his status as a non-white character is similarly emphasized in relation to his villainy. While his character may initially seem as though it cannot be associated with a specific race because he is a monkey with green skin and black fur, Mojo Jojo's non-whiteness can be found coded within the design of his character. In the chapter, "You Can't Lionise the Lion: Racing Disney," from the book *Deconstructing Disney*, Eleanor Byrne and Martin McQuillan note that animators of children's films tend to design characters that look and sound like ethnic minorities through "anthropomorphism" (Byrne and McQuillan 96). Such is the case with Mojo Jojo, whose race is coded into his character's identity as a monkey, which is a historically derogatory stereotype of black people (Hund, Wulf et al. 13). While this is not the only coding that exists in Mojo Jojo's racially complex identity (his

turban and accent point to the idea that his race also contains a mixture of an Eastern ethnicity and Japanese), *The Powerpuff Girls* seems to constantly connect his black-coded simian identity to evil through the show's cinematography.

In "Just Another Manic Mojo," the camera zooms close in on Mojo Jojo's face when he is plotting his evil scheme ("Just Another Manic Mojo" 1999). While this camera movement works to make him appear more menacing, it does so while highlighting his simian facial features that were not as noticeable before. For example, in wide shots of Mojo Jojo when he is acting tame, his sharp teeth are not visible. It is only during these moments of evil when the camera allows Mojo Jojo to dominate the entirety of the screen that they choose to highlight his fang-like teeth, a feature which is linked with his racially coded identity as a monkey. In "The Rowdy Ruff Boys," Mojo Jojo's blackness is even further aligned with evil and violence during the scene where he is thrown in jail for tormenting Townsville ("The Rowdyruff Boys" 1999). As he lays on the ground of the prison, the camera zooms in and spins to a close-up of his face. A growing sense of anger can be discerned from his stern facial expressions and glowing red eyes. Like in "Just Another Manic Mojo," his sharp monkey teeth become visible, and he begins to screech like a monkey and pound his fists on the ground. This scene aligns his racially coded identity as a monkey with physical outbursts and suggests that black individuals lack control over their aggressive tempers and physicality. As the moment also plays on the natural behavioral patterns of monkeys, this outburst of built-up evil rage can come to be seen as intrinsically connected to black identity.

The sinister connotations and visual emphasis that the show attaches to Mojo Jojo's racial identity causes him to stand out from the girls and aligns their whiteness with the forces of good. When Mojo Jojo experiences outbursts and begins to attack the town, such as he does at the beginning of "The Rowdyruff Boys," the town relies on the Powerpuff Girls to save them ("The Rowdyruff Boys" 1999). Mojo Jojo's non-whiteness that is visually emphasized during these

moments of evil causes the whiteness of the Powerpuff Girls to stand out by comparison. The camera work supports the divide between the two with quick cuts that juxtapose each girl and Mojo Jojo. Since Mojo Jojo is a monkey, the audience is made more aware of the Powerpuff Girls' normative race and appearance next to him. The girls' whiteness is then made morally superior as they are tasked with diffusing Mojo Jojo's violent outbursts and restoring Townsville to a state of peace. During this scene, which is much like many others from the series, the viewers watch Mojo Jojo's monkey-like physicality be taken down by the white and young Powerpuff Girls. Their repeated victory over Mojo Jojo, as well as their status as the protectors of Townsville, helps to align their whiteness with moral righteousness.

Mojo Jojo is further distanced from the Powerpuff Girls and the larger city of Townsville because of his character's non-normative (or lack of) adherence to the class structure and laws of society. While one's home usually provides the audience with visual indicators of their wealth and class status, Mojo Jojo's place of residence is so fantastically separated from the society that it is not possible to place him in any category. Rather, his house comes to highlight his conflict with the socially accepted structure of money accumulation and the class system. In "Just Another Manic Mojo," the audience is given a view of Mojo Jojo's house, introduced as a "lair" by the narrator ("Just Another Manic Mojo" 1999). The word "lair" carries an evil connotation, which is further reinforced by the narrator's endless list of negative adjectives about Mojo Jojo's place. It is located on the top of a volcano in the middle of a city park and appears to consist of just two rooms: a living room and a laboratory where he stores his evil weapons. When the girls pay him a visit at his lair, it is revealed that some of the decorations present in the living room are stolen mementos of his criminal escapades. After Bubbles begins to touch a vase, Mojo Jojo yells "Ugh! My Ming Dynasty vase. The object of the very first crime that I committed! Do not touch. It is very valuable!" ("Just Another Manic Mojo" 1999). This interaction suggests that he has obtained much of the objects in his house, as well as any money

that he may have, through nefarious means, such as stealing. His lair becomes a place where the audience is visually reminded of Mojo Jojo's evil nature and its connection to his failure to abide by the socially accepted model of wealth accumulation.

Mojo Jojo's distance from the class system of the society and the lawful accumulation of wealth serves as a contrast to the law-abiding and normative middle-class household of the Powerpuff Girls. In "Slumbering with the Enemy," the Powerpuff Girls' middle-class identities are further differentiated from Mojo Jojo's through the contrasting visuals of their homes ("Slumbering with the Enemy" 2000). While Mojo Jojo's house is physically separated from the society and placed in a fantastical volcanic location, the girls live in the suburbs. The close proximity of the girls' location to the society works to align them as moral enough to belong to and live among the society. While Mojo Jojo's house has stolen goods because he is a villain, the Powerpuff Girls' lifestyle is inferred as being justly earned by their father, who is a professor and a scientist. Their father's job can afford what appears to be an upper-middle-class lifestyle. From the outside, their house appears to have several floors and an abundance of windows, as well as a manicured lawn. The interior of the house is similarly filled with indicators of wealth, such as art on the walls and the professor's laboratory in the basement. The mementos present in the girls' room further contrast them from Mojo Jojo and his stolen items and help to align their law-abiding, middle-class lifestyle with the good, as one can see their hand-drawn artwork hanging on the walls.

Another instance of Mojo Jojo's non-normative identities is his alignment with religion and the occult, which portrays his villainous actions as a facilitator to his evil. The turban-like helmet that he wears on his head not only visually associates him with Eastern culture but also with the Islamic religion. In "Just Another Manic Mojo," the importance of this turban to his visually menacing look as a villain is established when he puts his turban on in the morning in preparation for his evil schemes. His religious alignment takes a more radical turn, however, when he is seen participating in rituals that help him to

achieve his evil plans. An example of Mojo Jojo's occult practices is seen when he creates the Rowdyruff Boys. The scene begins with a shot of the moon through the bars on the prison window as Mojo Jojo sinisterly exclaims, "The Moon is in alignment!" ("The Rowdyruff Boys 1999). The camera then pans over to Mojo Jojo's ritual, which is taking place in the "cauldron," or the prison toilet. Above the prison toilet, a skull forms inside of a cloud of gas, warning the audience of the evil and possibly deadly outcome of this ritual. This visual suggestion is then explicitly confirmed by Mojo Jojo's declaration: "Let the seeds of evil bear fruit!" ("The Rowdyruff Boys 1999). The ominous depiction of this creation scene aligns Mojo Jojo's practices of religion and the occult with evil.

Mojo Jojo's non-normative alignment with religion and the radical occult, which results in his creation of the evil Rowdy Ruff Boys, helps to construct the girls' more normative alignment with science as good. Mojo Jojo's occult-associated creation of the evil Rowdyruff Boys calls to mind the creation event of the Powerpuff Girls ("The Rowdyruff Boys" 1999). The way in which these scenes are set up encourages one to compare the nature of their creations and associate it with their eventual moral affiliations. Their creation scene, which is featured at the beginning of every episode, depicts how Professor Utonium brought the Powerpuff Girls into the world using modern science. While Mojo Jojo created the Rowdyruff Boys in a prison toilet, the Powerpuff Girls were created in a sterile laboratory. Although the girls were not their own creators, they are the product of the science conducted by their father, who is a scientist and professor. Furthermore, the lab in which the Powerpuff Girls were created is much more civilized and socially aligned with good than the prison in which Mojo Jojo created the Rowdyruff Boys. Mojo Jojo characterizes his own creations as the "seeds of evil," which are sprouted by his occult practices, while the girls' scientific origins become attached to their status as "crime fighters" and "perfect girls" ("The Rowdyruff Boys" 1999). In their first appearance on the screen, the background glows behind them and the narrator remarks that they have "dedicated

their lives to fighting crime and the forces of evil!" ("The Rowdyruff Boys" 1999).

This scene ultimately conveys the idea that science is the factor that allows the girls to be forces of justice, while a connection to the occult directs one down a more immoral path. *The Powerpuff Girls* visually aligns Mojo Jojo's non-normative identities with his evil actions. Relating these identities to his villainy allows the Powerpuff Girls to be constructed in contrast to both his evilness and his non-normativity. As a result, the audience comes to see the ideal and "good" as girls who are white, middle-class, and aligned with science. While the show may initially appear to be overwhelmingly positive for its feminist portrayal of girlhood, the ways in which the non-normative villains are presented complicates the idea of "empowerment" on which the girls operate (Bowen; Van Fuqua). The visual correlation between Mojo Jojo's non-normative identities and his immorality has problematic implications for the identities he embodies and the audience's perceptions of them. Further research would be needed to fully understand the ramifications of these negative portrayals on the audience and their construction of identities, specifically in relation to girlhood. Additionally, Mojo Jojo is just one villain within *The Powerpuff Girls* franchise, meaning that there is further analysis that needs to be done on the identities of the other villains and how they are posed in relation to the Powerpuff Girls. I hope that more girls' media scholars will choose to conduct their analysis through the lens of the villains because there is much to be learned from the dichotomy that exists in the construction between the "good" and the "bad."

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Liberation and *Higienismo*: Chilean Feminism in *Acción Femenina*

By Sophia Kics

Sophia Kics (she/her) is a senior with majors in Spanish and Pre-Health Studies and a minor in Gender Studies. She is from Palatine, Illinois, and on campus she is a proud member of Irish 4 Reproductive Health. She is one of the managing editors of this issue of *Through Gendered Lenses* and has been a member of Triota for three years. The following piece is Sophia's Spanish senior thesis, which she completed under the guidance of her advisor Dr. Vanesa Miseres. It is a culmination of her research in the Kellogg International Scholars Program during the past three years on Latin American feminism, also with Dr. Miseres, whom she is incredibly grateful to for all of her help and support. After graduation, Sophia will be taking a gap year before attending medical school.

Introduction

In a 2016 clip from CNN Chile's weekly health and wellness segment "*Vida sana en directo*," nutritionist Katherine Larraguibel explains what she refers to as the ancient practice of *higienismo*. She describes to the likely overwhelmingly female talk show audience how eating the correct rigid and rule-riddled diet, performing gentle exercise often, spending time in nature, and avoiding stress will allow one to purify their body in a manner that will promote optimal health. According to Larraguibel, adhering to obscure rules such as avoiding the consumption of fruits and vegetables at the same time, fasting at least twice per week to cleanse the colon, and avoiding all forms of medication will produce a purified and vigorous body with the ability to fight off essentially all forms of sickness, (she even claims that eighty percent of all diseases result from a poor diet)[1]. Additionally, Larraguibel continually refers to *higienismo* as a lifestyle that is difficult to maintain yet has the ability to bring incredible outcomes to the health of individuals and all of Chilean society. [1]

As it turns out, Larraguibel was correct in her claims that *higienismo* is not a new concept (although perhaps not necessarily an ancient one) and that it encompasses the idea of disease as a social phenomenon. However, what she left out of her misinformed explanation was the darker history of the subject with roots in racism, xenophobia, sexism, and eugenics that was crucial to development and implementation of the ideology in Chile. My exploration of *higienismo* began with my role as a research assistant to Dr. Vanesa Miseres in her work on pacifist feminism, through which I extensively engaged with the landmark early twentieth-century Chilean feminist magazine *Acción Femenina*, published in Santiago from 1922 until 1939. Through this work, I noticed a contrasting pattern of pieces on progressive feminist political thinking with others on traditional portrayals of the feminine body and health, echoing Larraguibel's sentiments of a specific lifestyle

[1] "Vida sana en directo: Dieta del Higienismo." *Youtube*, uploaded by CNN Chile, 11 Jan. 2016, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yJNJGqX1WBM.

producing both individual and societal positive health outcomes. Further, even within the political-oriented pieces, I noticed undertones of traditional femininity, with heavy focus on beauty and the body. Thus, I assert that the magazine *Acción Femenina* portrays a complex relationship between women's liberation and *higienismo* medical and corporeal discourse that was characteristic of Chilean feminist movements during the first half of the twentieth century.

The Origins and Early Development of Chilean Feminism

Chilean feminism formed during the late nineteenth century largely as a function of other social and intellectual movements.[2] As socialism, anarchism, urban reform, and liberal and positivist thought expanded throughout the nation, women played roles in these movements and their respective organizations, and they began to realize that the male-centered leadership and agendas were not sufficient for their needs[2]. Feminism also in part developed during this time as a result of the historical context of the nation at the turn of the twentieth century, as the political, social, and economic conditions were suitable for the development of social movements.[3] In short, Chile's 1891 civil war resulted in the imposition of a parliamentary regime that lasted until 1925, when an era of electoral democracy was established following a coup d'état[3]. The parliamentary era involved the establishment of a homogenous oligarchy that granted unfettered state power to a small political elite, and although there was an electoral system, it was riddled with bribery, fraud, and favoritism that resulted in little positive legislation passed on behalf of the Chilean people[3]. This coincided with the industrialization and urbanization of Chilean society, which resulted in high rates of poverty and resulting social problems[4]. Frustrated by the lack of action by the parliamentary

[2] Lavrin, Asunción. *Women, Feminism, and Social Change in Argentina, Chile, and Uruguay, 1890-1940*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998.
[3] "La república parlamentaria (1891-1925)." *Memoria Chilena*, 2018.
[4] Miller Klubock, Thomas. "Writing the History of Women and Gender in Twentieth-Century Chile." *Hispanic American Historical Review*, vol. 81, no. 3-4, 2001, pp. 493-518.

government in aiding the working class and impoverished populations with these problems, social movements around labor, education, and welfare, as well as general senses of action and advocacy flourished.[5]

As women within these social movements began developing what would soon become known as Chilean feminist ideologies, two opposing schools of thought developed: socialist and liberal feminism. While neither officially used the term "feminism" until decades later during the mid-twentieth century, socialist feminist ideology initially began developing alongside socialist organizing during the mid-nineteenth century.[2] While early Chilean socialists did acknowledge that benefits would amount to the working class from the granting of economic independence to women, there generally was no explicit inclusion of advocacy for working women.[2] Rather, women were viewed by movement leaders as crucial in aiding men in their labor struggles while fulfilling their true destinies as wives and mothers, despite the fact that women constituted a significant portion of the urban Chilean working class (for example, in 1912 thirty-five percent of factory workers in Santiago were women, and many of the migrants from rural communities to urban centers were women, as well).[6] In fact, when the Chilean Socialist Party published their platform prior to the 1915 presidential election, by which time feminism was significantly growing in support and popularity in Chile and the rest of the Southern Cone, the needs of working women were not mentioned a single time[2].

In general, Chilean socialism allowed for socialist feminist ideology to develop in the nation, but socialist movements did little to support them. Centering the experiences of working-class women and utilizing socialist principles, Chilean socialist feminist thought developed several guiding goals around economic emancipation,

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[5] "Organizaciones feministas de la primera mitad del siglo XX." *Memoria Chilena*, 2018.

[6] Pieper Mooney, Jadwiga E. *The Politics of Motherhood: Maternity and Women's Rights in Twentieth-Century Chile*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2009.

including the right to work, acknowledgement of intellectual ability, welfare benefits for working women, and participation in politics.[7] Additionally, magazines written and published by women were established as a crucial facet of feminism during the early twentieth century, with the feminist socialist magazines like *La Aurora Feminista*, *La Alborada*, and *La Palanaca* establishing publications as a manner of feminist discourse that would pave the way for later ones including *Acción Femenina.*[8]

Conversely, liberal feminism developed among circles of educated, urban, and wealthy women, also during the last decades of the nineteenth century[6]. Their ideology centered the needs of middle- and upper-class women like themselves with the desire to obtain education and live independent lives. Like socialist feminists, they also utilized the idea of work in developing their goals, but in a sense of work ethic: they argued that women should use discipline and will to take advantage of their natural right to work and use their skills for a higher social purpose. They deeply valued access to education and affirming the intellectual abilities of women, and their work aligned with the goals of liberal and positivist thinkers in desiring to modernize Chile via industrialization and urbanization, in order to meet the standards of progress as defined by North Atlantic nations. Liberal feminists also began focusing on legal matters, which notably included the revolutionary concepts of divorce and suffrage. Early socialist and liberal Chilean feminists had many overlapping goals, but the fact that liberal feminists largely ignored the role of class in sexism was a point of contention. To prove this point, one of the defining moments of the development of the liberal feminist movement was the 1910 International Feminine Congress in Buenos Aires, in which Southern Cone feminists and activists came together to discuss the

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[7] Franceschet, Susan. "Explaining Social Movement Outcomes: Collective Action Frames and Strategic Choices in First- and Second-Wave Feminism in Chile." *Comparative Political Studies*, vol. 37, no. 5, 2004, pp. 499-530.
[8] Barrancos, Dora. "Chile." *Historia mínima de los feminismos en América Latina*. Mexico City: El Colegio de México, A.C., 2020, pp. 155-167.

goals of their movements, which of course was an event only accessible to wealthy women due to the expensive nature of international travel.

A defining challenge of early Chilean feminism, regardless of ideological background, was the reconciliation of femininity with feminism and debates over the possibility of the two coexisiting. A common criticism of early feminism was that it was nothing more than an attempt to masculinize women in its goals of achieving for women certain rights that were generally only granted to men at the time, like work, education, and welfare. In fact, the term *marimacho* was used to describe feminists in this manner, combining the feminine *marianismo* and masculine *machismo* as an insult[2]. To avoid this stigma, feminist movements rejected the use of the word "feminist" for decades, instead opting for euphemisms of "feminine" or "femininity" to describe organizations and movements. Additionally, it was not only conservative movements that accused feminism of masculinization, but also their progressive counterparts; for example, Chilean anarchists at the turn of the twentieth century notoriously rejected feminism as an ideology and accused feminists of utilizing oppression in the form of masculinization in order to gain power. Because of this, Chilean feminism had to ensure its inclusion of femininity and feminine subjects from its conception, and one of the most effective manners to do was a focus on the subject of motherhood.

In centering motherhood as a tactic to ensure the maintenance of femininity in early Chilean feminism, in order to make the movement appear more acceptable to opponents and supporters alike, themes of biological destiny were heavily utilized in the development of ideology. Both socialist and liberal feminists stressed the importance of feminism avoiding an imitation of men's roles in society, asserting that it should rather define its own feminine truths and affirm the positively-perceived differences between the genders. Thus, women could aspire to work to some degree and obtain an education, but in a manner suited to their natural pursuits of motherhood and marriage. Also, the concept of motherhood was an integral part of early Chilean

feminist discourse in both gaining credibility through an affirmation of femininity and also proposing feminism in a culturally-competent manner, for Chilean Roman Catholic tradition deeply valued motherhood as a definer of a woman's mission in both her home and community. Given these values, the widely accepted feminist philosophy of the early twentieth century was compensatory feminism, which argued that mere gender equality was insufficient to meet the needs of women. Compensatory feminism sought to create gendered feminist spaces, recognizing that men did have a physiological advantage in not needing to bear nor raise children, and thus asserting that the state was obligated to support women in their pursuits of motherhood and marriage. This translated into welfare policies designed specifically for mothers, improved compensation of working women and mothers, and public health programs to assist new mothers with pre- and post-natal care. Feminism was not seen as revolutionary, but rather compensatory and involving reparations in this respect. The values of motherhood, caregiving, and sacrifice, not just within a woman's own family but also her community and the nation, remained key factors in the development of concepts of feminism and femininity in Chile in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, allowing the two to remain intertwined.

Notably, Chilean feminism did not begin to engage in political activity until the 1910s, and more extensively until the 1920s and 1930s, aligning with the publication dates of *Acción Femenina.*[9] Prior to this, feminist organizations preferred to present themselves as apolitical and above partisan politics, identifying politics as a male-dominated affair of corruption and power games as opposed to the peaceful nature of feminist activism that desired to better all of society. This stance resulted in the formation of separate feminist political parties in the 1910s and 1920s, one of the first of which was the *Partido Cívico Femenino* that published *Acción Femenina.*[10] Chilean feminist

[9] "Sufragio femenino universal." *Memoria Chilena*, 2018.
[10] Errázuriz Tagle, Javiera. "Discursos en torno al sufragio femenino en Chile 1865-1949." *Historia*, vol. 2, no. 38, 2005, pp. 257-286.

organizations and political parties began to shift their focus to suffrage during the 1930s as well, years behind most other Latin American nations, not only because they saw benefits in political participation but also because they realized that remaining out of the political sphere was not sustainable in order to produce the social changes they wished to see. For example, one of the most prominent leaders of Chilean feminism, especially in the realm of suffrage, Amanda Labarca, expressed in her famous 1934 book, *¿A dónde va la mujer?* that "La obra de la república debería tender más y más a la incorporación a la verdadera democracia, del mayor número de hombres y mujeres, capacitándolas para comprender los problemas vitales del país y participar en ellos."[11] In this, she indicates that Chile will not reach true democracy until both men and women are able to understand and engage with political matters.

While themes of femininity, motherhood, accessing education and work, and health remained primary goals of Chilean feminism into the 1930s and beyond, a poignant shift occurred during this decade that brought women's political liberation into question, as well. Chilean women gained municipal suffrage in 1934 and then universal suffrage in 1949, which in part took so many years due to doubts about the validity of their electoral behavior and the effects that it would have on the nation. Further, this granting of political rights to Chilean women created a sense of victory and momentum, which allowed for their successful organizing in the decades to come, especially during Pinochet's dictatorship.

El higienismo in Chilean Public Health

The years of publication of *Acción Femenina* (1922–1939) coincide with the rise of *higienismo* ideology within Chile's medical and public health systems, and its influence on all aspects of Chilean life, and especially that of Chilean women, is clearly reflected throughout the

[11] Labarca, Amanda. *¿A dónde va la mujer?* Santiago: Librería y Casa Editorial Minerva, 1934.

magazine. *El higienismo* encompasses the thought that disease occurs as a social phenomenon and thus that personal hygiene and care have the ability to produce a healthy society. Its roots lie in Western European thought of the late eighteenth century, when scientists began to understand the role that one's environment plays in overall health.[12] This was particularly due to the fact that members of the working class who lived and worked in deplorable conditions throughout the industrial revolution contracted diseases like yellow fever and cholera at much greater rates than their wealthy counterparts, which brought attention to the lack of sanitary conditions in urban centers at the time[12]. The first environmental component that European scientists studied was water, and physicians asserted that all disease resulted from drinking polluted water that subsequently created an imbalance of bodily fluids.[13] Thus, while scientific inquiry was still decades away from a true understanding of the biomolecular precursors of disease, European physicians and philosophers of the late eighteenth century changed the view on health at the time and correctly asserted that one's environment plays a role in such.

El higienismo reached Latin America, and Chile in particular, in the late nineteenth century, when intellectual exchanges began occurring between the continents at greater frequencies. As European physicians began traveling to Chile to practice and diffuse their medical knowledge, wealthy Chilean students simultaneously began studying medicine in Europe, thus producing a brand-new class of European-trained physicians in the country. Advances in microbiology occurred during this period, as well, and a new understanding of disease arose in which bacterial proliferation was believed to be a cause.[14] Hospitals had finally begun to be perceived as places in which

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[12] "Ciencia de la higiene o higienismo." *Memoria Chilena*, 2018.
[13] Durán Sandoval, Manuel. "Medicalización, Higienismo y Desarrollo Social en Chile y Argentina, 1860-1918." *Universidad de Chile: Instituto de Estudios Avanzados*, 2012.
[14] Sánchez Andaur, Raúl. "Introducción del paradigma higiénico sanitario en Chile (1870-1925): discursos y prácticas." *Anuario de Estudios Americanos*, vol. 74, no. 2, 2017, pp. 643-674.

a person can heal rather than inevitably die, and a person's health was beginning to be understood as an observable set of data. However, despite this tremendous medical advancement, physicians had difficulty in reducing poor health outcomes, prompting them to focus on reducing the causes of disease rather than healing their consequences.[15]

As a result of this, the Chilean government established *La Sociedad Médica de Santiago* in 1867 and the *Ordenanza General de Salud* and a *Consejo Superior de Higiene Pública* with advisory functions in 1887, and later a famous *Código Sanitario* in 1918, all in order to implement the *higienismo* practices promoted by physicians. While many undoubtedly positive infrastructural improvements were made during these last decades of the nineteenth century, including the development of a sewage system, the relocation of slaughterhouses to outside of cities, and the cleaning of streets, the *higienismo* reforms were applied in a partial manner that ultimately allowed for them to become instruments of power rather than tools for social welfare. A heterogenous series of actors with their own opposing interests were responsible for implementing *higienismo* reforms, including politicians, journalists, union leaders, businessmen, landlords, and doctors, and these changes were eventually seen as a manner for wealthy Chileans to prove the modernization of their nation according to North Atlantic standards through its overall health. This was only exacerbated by their attendance at International Sanitary Conferences throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth, in which European and American social hygienists would demonstrate the relative success of such practices in their own nation.[16]

This desire among the Chilean ruling class to utilize *higienismo* to construct a modernized image of their nation produced an association between a lack of hygiene and poverty, as well as one between a lack

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[15] "Higiene y salud pública en Chile (1870-1910)." *Memoria Chilena*, 2018.
[16] Howard-Jones, Norman. "The scientific background of the International Sanitary Conferences 1851-1938." *World Health Organization Geneva*, 1975.

of good health and poor morals. The customs and social habits of the working class were denounced as obstacles to the implementation of reformist *higienismo* principles, despite the fact that it was in reality wealthy and conservative Chileans, especially landlords, who resisted the practices far more in fear of losing their sources of income[13]. With the establishment of urban sanitation and regulation programs throughout Chile at the turn of the century, two schools of thought around *higienismo* developed: one that focused on environmental factors of disease, in a manner similar to the original conceptions of hygiene, and another that acquired moral overtones and asserted one's individual responsibility in their health. For example, disease and generalized poor health in Chile at the time were blamed on groups like sex workers, the homeless, and people struggling with addiction, thus exacerbating an already existent social divide in disciplining the customs of poor urban populations.[17] Further, Chilean *higienismo* ideology utilized rhetoric around racial eugenics, also blaming indigenous communities and Southern European immigrants for the nation's public health issues, asserting a superiority of the Chilean race and an association between Chilean whiteness and good health[17]. While environmental *higienismo* always remained present in Chilean health and transformed it for the better in some manners, these moral overtones became increasingly present and resulted in a desire to regulate bodies for the sake of the nation's public health.

This form of *higienismo* that centered morality shed light upon the phenomenon of the body being seen as a space for work and reproduction, and further the requirement of healthy bodies for the stability of the state. Policies around *higienismo* in Chile at the turn of the twentieth century provided a means for this bodily control by the state, and particularly around motherhood, reproduction, and femininity. Much of the burden of *higienismo* reforms fell upon women, who were expected to educate their families on proper hygiene

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[17] Walsh, Sarah. "One of the Most Uniform Races of the Entire World: Creole Eugenics and the Myth of Chilean Racial Homogeneity." *Journal of the History of Biology*, vol. 48, 2015, pp. 613-639.

practices in addition to following them themselves. In fact, the high infant mortality rates in Chile at the time were blamed upon a lack of hygiene among poor mothers, who were expected to reproduce a new generation of healthy workers to supplement the new industrialization and economic growth occurring in Chile at the time. Further, moral advice around feminine sexuality began being enacted into policy, with extramarital sex being seen as a risk factor in contracting sexually transmitted diseases and thus again harming women's abilities to reproduce. Much of this moral advice around the feminine body echoed the conservative teachings of the Catholic Church, which not only held a prominent role in Chilean life but also funded a great deal of the nation's hospitals and healthcare systems through the first decades of the twentieth century.[18] Thus, *higienismo* centered not just morality, but the morality of Chilean women through the lens of conservative Catholic teachings in a manner that placed reproduction as central to womanhood.

The surveillance of the bodies and lives of poor mothers in particular embodied a great deal of the efforts by the Chilean state to implement *higienismo* policies throughout the nation, demonstrating the inherently gendered nature of the ideology. When, as aforementioned, Chile experienced a period of industrialization and urbanization at the end of the nineteenth century, as well as a decline in the agrarian economy, there was a mass migration from the countryside to urban centers in search of work, and many of these migrants were women and mothers. These working-class women experienced an intersection of oppression on the basis of gender and class, for example often experiencing wage discrimination by employers on the basis that their income simply supplemented their breadwinner husbands', forcing them to live and work in unhealthy conditions (as many were not married, and if they were their families could not be supported with just one income). Naturally, these conditions resulted in high rates of both maternal and infant mortality rates, as living in small and decrepit

[18] "La salud pública en Chile (1910-1950)." *Memoria Chilena*, 2018.

housing and working in dangerous sweatshops does not promote good health, and there was little improvement in this regard as the decades passed: in 1900, Chile's infant mortality rate was 342.5 per every 1,000 live births, and by 1920 it was still 263.4 per every 1,000 live births. Concerned that these alarming numbers would be an obstacle to Chile's progress and prosperity as a nation, the state formed an alliance with physicians and public health officials to implement social reform in this realm.

However, rather than drawing upon the *higienismo* concept that the poor environmental conditions of working-class women resulted in Chile's high maternal and infant mortality rates of the time, the state resorted to the form of the ideology in which one's behavior and morals resulted in sickness and thus required control. Rather than helping poor mothers overcome poverty and improve their social and economic situations, doctors asserted that infant mortality among poor mothers was the result of their inability to cope with urbanization, going as far as to identify them simply as "unfit" to mother in the first place. This construction solidified the *higienismo* conception of poverty as ignorance, and in doing so delegated the responsibility of fixing a nationwide problem as complex as infant mortality upon impoverished people, and poor mothers in particular, producing expectations of inventiveness and resourcefulness by them.

The desire to implement these expectations upon poor mothers translated into legislation, with "unfit" motherhood acting as justification for the state to implement public health policies across the nation. For example, during the 1930s, an Office of Family Education was established that utilized sex education as a tool to aid unwed mothers and their children, who were still considered to be irresponsible and even unhygienic at the time, teaching lessons with heavy moral-religious tones. In these lessons, they asserted that single and poor mothers unnecessarily exposed their children to the concept of sexuality early on, given that they lived in small homes, and that this would lead to premature sexual development and antisocial behavior. Thus, they argued that poor single mothers should marry (and relocate

to a larger home) and practice abstinence in the meantime, demonizing their sexuality. President Salvador Allende Gossens declared in 1938 that "to govern is to educate and to give health," justifying the use of education programs like the aforementioned. Additionally, this designation of unfit motherhood occurred alongside the development of a concept of proper motherhood, which was that of the bourgeois, and middle- and upper-class women exploited the Chilean concern with unfit motherhood via beneficent maternalism, which drew upon Catholic principles of charity. This placed poor mothers in a position in which they were not only considered to be ignorant, but also in need of intervention from the state and the Church for help without their consent.

In examining these policies and beliefs around poor mothers and infant mortality, it becomes clear that a primary goal of Chilean *higienismo* of the early twentieth century was the policing of women's sexualities and ability to reproduce more than anything. For example, despite the fact that a substantial amount of the working mothers who had children during the first decades of the twentieth century in Santiago were unmarried, single motherhood was still heavily criticized by both the Catholic church and the state, as is evident by the establishment of the Office of Family Education and other similar organizations including vocational schools and Catholic worker cooperatives[4]. While discourse on the subject included qualms about morality and concern for the health and wellbeing of the child through a Catholic understanding of womanhood and mothering, it is clear that the true concern was the fact that single mothers were having sex outside of marriage and threatening the social order of reproduction in the modernizing nation. In fact, public health officials were concerned that an increase in women's knowledge on sex in general, and especially birth control, would result in a decreased birth rate and thus a smaller workforce within the next generation. This places reproduction as central to Chilean womanhood, as well as motherhood, in the sense of raising a new generation of healthy workers to continue modernizing the nation.

The same can be said about the continual policing and criminalization of prostitution in Chile throughout these decades by the state, another crucial aspect of the implementation of *higienismo* principles upon women. While bans on prostitution and *casas de tolerencia* were presented as preventing the spread of sexually transmitted diseases, during a period of legalization and regulation of prostitution during the 1930s, female prostitutes were required to adhere to strict guidelines and pass health tests, but their male clients were not. Prostitution was regulated via *higienismo* in an incredibly explicit manner, with higiene-oriented organizations such as the *Liga Chilena de Higiene Social* playing crucial roles in this regulation. Were the spread of sexually transmitted diseases and morality around extramarital sex the true concerns with regulation of prostitution, then the men and women involved would have been punished equally; however, since this was not the case, this points again to the role of *higienismo* in the state's control of female sexuality and reproduction.

The control of feminine bodies and sexualities by the state via Chilean *higienismo* during and after the turn of the twentieth century points to the role of biopower in this context. According to Freud, biopower is the control of bodies and populations by the state, designating some as more deserving of life than others. Further, sexuality and reproduction lie at the intersection of the intimate construction of the self and larger population statistics, providing the state with biopower on multiple levels.[19] Thus, the manner in which Chilean physicians and health officials were concerned with the reproductive and sexual practices of individual women and at the same time the larger population trends of birth rates and infant mortality suggests the use of biopower in this context. Also, the label of poor mothers as unfit to raise children with the simultaneous desire by government officials for high birth rates in order to produce a new generation of workers represents the aspect of biopower that is designating certain people as more deserving of life than others

[19] Foucault, Michel. *The History of Sexuality, Volume 1: An Introduction*. New York: Random House, Inc., 1978.

(wealthy mothers were not held to these same standards). Further, this conflation of womanhood and reproduction via biopower had consequences on the formation of female gender identity, which according to Judith Butler is imposed upon people by powers and institutions and results in our constructions as gendered subjects[20]. All of this is precisely what made the development of Chilean feminism, and even the construction of femininity itself, so difficult in this Chilean context, which is expressed in *Acción Femenina.*

Acción Femenina

As briefly mentioned prior, *Acción Femenina* was a Chilean feminist magazine published from 1922 until 1939 by the *Partido Cívico Femenino*. The *Partido Cívico Femenino* was one of the first official feminist organizations established in Chile, although it ironically never functioned as a true political party despite its name.[21] The party's constituency consisted primarily of educated middle- and upper-class women, and its goals included many of the hallmarks of Chilean liberal feminism including suffrage, divorce, birth control, access to education and the labor market, and additional welfare services for mothers. *Acción Femenina* served as manner to propagate the party's ideals, as well as summarize recent party meetings and international feminist news (from the U.S., Europe, and other Latin American nations in particular). Additionally, pacifism held a prominent role in the magazine and a form of pacifist feminism was developed by the organization throughout the years of its publication, and especially during periods that coincided with wars (including World War I and the Spanish Civil War).

Also, every issue of *Acción Femenina* includes subject matter on traditional constructions of femininity and around the feminine body in particular in the forms of beauty advice, exercise regimens, and the

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[20] Butler, Judith. *Bodies That Matter: On the Discursive Limits of "Sex."* London: Routledge Books, 2014.
[21] "Acción Femenina (1922-1939)." *Memoria Chilena*, 2018.

latest fashion trends, all scattered among the political-oriented information that is the primary goal of the publication to portray. Thus, in order to demonstrate the presence of *higienismo* within Chilean feminism as presented by the *Partido Cívico Femenino* in *Acción Femenina*, I will examine several articles present in issues published during the decade of the 1930s. I chose issues from these years because of greater prominence of suffrage and political participation among feminists as compared to prior decades, providing an example of the role that *higienismo*-based principles played in feminist political goals of the time. A transcript of each article can be found in the appendix. Additionally, some key concepts that I consistently found within the articles include broadly Latin American feminism, pacifism, the superior morality of women in comparison to men, desirability of the feminine body under the male gaze, and white European beauty standards.

A. "La igualdad de derechos para la mujer," Margarita Robles de Mendoza, 1937[22]

In this article, Robles de Mendoza discusses the recent "*Conferencia Inter Americana de Consolidación de la Paz,*" at which fifty-six Latin American feminist organizations signed a petition in favor of a women's judicial statute that argued for the elimination of potential causes of war. She also describes how it is up to women to promote this cause, as men will inevitably always favor violence. Further, Robles de Mendoza argues that pacifism builds upon feminist ideals, and the rejection of the need for a "protector" (whether that be to protect women as a weaker sex, or countries or peoples with less powerful armies). She explains that the inferiority that comes with being perceived as needing protection, both in the case of women and of under-resourced nations and populations, comes with it a manifestation of less opportunities and advancement. However, she asserts that this stance is not a rejection of welfare services by the

[22] Robles de Mendoza, Maragarita. "La igualdad de derechos para la mujer." *Acción Femenina*, vol. 6, no. 25, 1937, pp. 8 & 25.

state, especially for those "que requieren una atención especial por parte del Estado dentro de sus necesidades sociales."

Robles de Mendoza draws upon the early Chilean feminist ideals in her assertion that it is up to women to promote pacifism of peacefulness and benevolence, which again was part of a strategy of apoliticalness to create national support. However, in this era of increased feminist political participation, as seen by the existence of the conference described, this contrasts with the new and fiery desires of political equality, as expressed by Robles de Mendoza's frustrations with the perceived inferiority in women's lack of independence. Fascinatingly, despite her criticism of the manner in which women are often viewed as inferior, she goes on to describe the importance of welfare services for socially marginalized groups, somewhat expressing the same idea she is criticizing; this can be seen as a representation of the tensions between liberal and socialist Chilean feminist ideals. Further, this sense of charity she expresses draws upon the toes of beneficent maternalism utilized by wealthy women via *higienismo* policies around unfit mothers.

Additionally, it is important to note that Margarita Robles de Mendoza was a famous Mexican feminist of the time. Her role as the delegate of the Mexican government in the Comisión Interamericana de Mujeres (CIM) signifies her concern with not just Mexica, but Latin American feminism, and she was particularly passionate about suffrage, which she viewed as a means for women to gain economic and social rights in their countries. She additionally worked in and had ties with feminist movements of the United States, and she often curated professional relationships with men in political power, not out of any personal desire but rather to achieve her goals for Mexican and Latin American women. Thus, writing in "La igualdad de derechos para la mujer" represents her experiences with feeling belittled in these relationships, despite their usefulness to feminist movements. Additionally, as reflected throughout the history of Chilean feminism and in *Acción Femenina*, Robles de Mendoza recognized the fact that many women were frightened of the word "feminist" and the

connotations that it brought with it. However, in a manner quite radical for the time, she asserted that this label was important to success of feminist movements. This sense of urgency and relative radicalness is reflected in "La igualdad de derechos para la mujer."

B. "La mujer no como instrumento de la política sino como parte integrante de ella," María Pinto Petit, 1937[23]

Pinto Petit argues that a good government must make central to its function the needs of its citizens, and that this is not possible with the corruption and self-interest displayed by current government officials in many South American countries, including Chile. As part of this trend, the needs of women have been ignored, and she argues that this is detrimental due to the crucial role of women in developing moral communities and raising future generations. She then goes on to compare the role of the government in serving the country with that of a mother in her home, asserting that current government leaders lack the humbleness and selflessness needed to truly govern a country well.

Pinto Petit's assertion that current South American governments (and the men who lead them) were neglecting the needs of women aligned with the sentiments of early Chilean feminists' choice to avoid affiliation with other social movements and political parties for the same reasons. Additionally, her inclusion of the domestic role of women in the home as a tool to implement this feminist ideal, rather than critiquing it, displays the manner in which motherhood and domesticity remained integral parts of Chilean feminist ideology decades into the twentieth century. Pinto Petit is utilizing the feminine concept of motherhood as a tool to address a feminist concern.

I wonder if more information on the authors can be provided. Also perhaps introducing some key concept to analyze the article, so that these sections do not seem merely descriptive.

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[23] Pinto Petit, María. "La mujer no como instrumento de la política sino como parte integrante de ella." *Acción Femenina*, vol. 6, no. 27, 1937, p. 19.

C. "Nuestra coquetería," author unknown, 1934[24]

This piece instructs readers on how to effectively accentuate certain feminine features, which will allow for successful flirting with men. First, the author explains that the beauty of a woman's eyes has the ability to distract from any other facial flaws, and they then explain how to cleanse the eyes to maintain a youthful appearance. Next, the author describes how to obtain a thin body via eating fruit, vegetables, grilled meat, and legumes, while excluding alcohol, and they also provide a homemade herbal solution to consume daily. After that, there is a section on how to avoid wrinkles on the neck with another herbal mixture, and finally a segment on how to maintain a generally youthful appearance by avoiding foods that will fatten the face and also performing daily facial massages.

The manner in which this article instructs women to pay intense attention to minute aspects of their bodies and lifestyles in a manner that emphasizes Eurocentric ideals of beauty (especially that of thinness) suggests that dedicating time and energy to such pursuits are still a crucial aspect of femininity, despite any other educational, political, or economic pursuits that the magazine was encouraging of women. Additionally, the use of the word "coquetería" in the title suggests that this all should be done for the sake of flirting with men, which in the socially conservative culture of Chile at the time likely implicated marriage and then motherhood, utilizing *higienismo* principles around the importance of reproduction, reaffirming these aspects of traditional femininity, and further their roles in feminism due to this article's inclusion in the magazine.

D. "Consejos para las damas," author unknown, 1938[25]

In this article, the author first instructs readers that true beauty involves both outward appearance as well as virtues and morals, and thus that both must be maintained. They especially assert that one's moral attributes are reflected in the face, and thus that living a virtuous

[24] "Nuestra coquetería." *Acción Femenina*, vol. 6, no. 1, 1934, p. 34.
[25] "Consejos para las damas." *Acción Femenina*, vol. 12, no. 36, 1938, pp. 42-43.

life is crucial in maintaining beauty. The author then reflects on how the aging bodies of women have resulted in the failures of marriages, and that this failure is inevitable. Thus, women should focus on their moral and intellectual development in addition to that of their bodies, so that they are multifaceted for themselves and their husbands later in life.

The piece appears to be attempting to move past some of the emphasis on beauty and appearance demonstrated throughout many articles in the magazine, but the fact that it still emphasizes the importance of marriage proves the cruciality of domesticity in a feminine context. Additionally, the inclusion of virtues and morals as essential feminine elements points to overtones of *higienismo* and the idea that behavior produces tangible effects on the body.

E. Examples of advertisements

Throughout the magazine, there also are many advertisements that reflect the traditionally feminine expectations of women in articles like "Nuestra coquetería" and "Consejos para las damas," among many others. For example, in the advertisement for the clothing company "Sedería Diez de Julio," the advertisement describes how when women are conversing, they invariably will end up mentioning the quality fabrics of "Sedería Diez de Julio." This is accompanied by an image of women wearing nice clothes and hats and sitting around a table that appears to be at a restaurant, perhaps for an afternoon tea, which asserts that this is what they do, rather than working. The advertisement for the teeth whitening product "Perboral," in addition to providing basic information about the product, includes an image of a smiling woman, who is white, thin, and has white teeth. This implies that this woman meets the standards of beauty for Chilean women, and that whitening one's teeth will help them to achieve such.

These advertisements reinforce the concept presented in the articles that women must engage in activities, such as utilizing the products shown, that will ultimately allow them to present themselves in a traditionally European feminine manner. And, in the fact that

these advertisements exist alongside, and often even on the page as, the magazine's writing about feminism, it is implied that enforcing traditionally European femininity through appearance can and should exist alongside women's liberation.

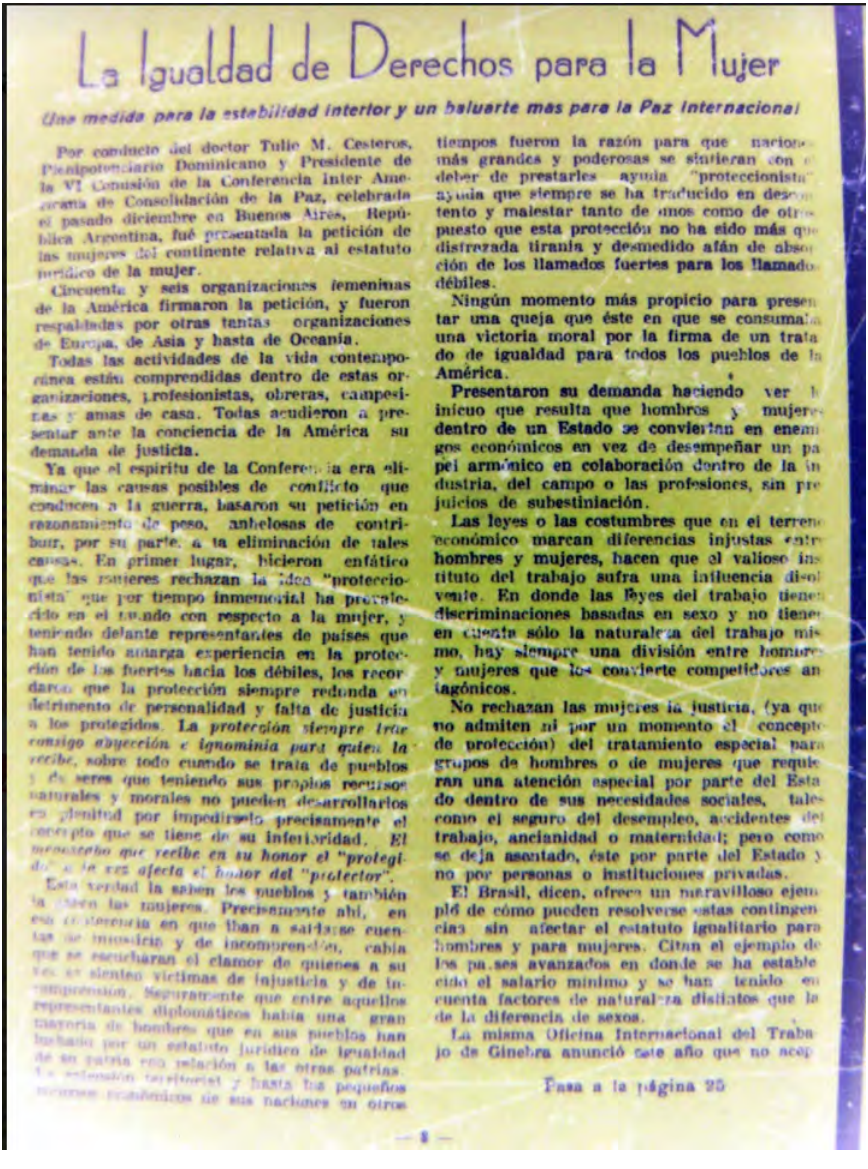
Conclusion

All of these pieces, among many more published throughout *Acción Femenina*, demonstrate that traditional thoughts about femininity involving intense focus on the appearance of one's body, with the goal of the body being Eurocentric, remained present without much criticism in feminist movements through the 1930s and beyond. The fact that the *Partido Cívico Femenino* and *Acción Femenina* were so prominent in this period of Chilean feminism further proves this. The inclusion of these articles in the magazine may have served as a tactic to convince skeptic readers of their credibility, utilizing the strategy of early feminists of femininty as a tool to produce greater support of feminism, or it may simply reflect the continuing importance of beauty for the sake of marriage and motherhood during this time as a reflection of *higienismo* beliefs. Nonetheless, their inclusion points to trends that I believe remained relevant to feminism in countless historical and cultural contexts, and which still remains relevant today, in that there is a complex discourse around whether beauty serves as a tool of oppression of empowerment for women, and if it holds a role within feminism.

Appendix

A: "La igualdad de derechos para la mujer," Margarita Robles de Mendoza, 1937

a.



La Igualdad de Derechos para la Mujer

Una medida para la estabilidad interior y un baluarte mas para la Paz Internacional

Por conducto del doctor Tulio M. Cesteros, Plenipotenciario Dominicano y Presidente de la VI Comisión de la Conferencia Inter Americana de Consolidación de la Paz, celebrada el pasado diciembre en Buenos Aires, República Argentina, fué presentada la petición de las mujeres del continente relativa al estatuto jurídico de la mujer.

Cincuenta y seis organizaciones femeninas de la América firmaron la petición, y fueron respaldadas por otras tantas organizaciones de Europa, de Asia y hasta de Oceanía.

Todas las actividades de la vida contemporánea están comprendidas dentro de estas organizaciones, profesionistas, obreras, campesinas y amas de casa. Todas acudieron a presentar ante la conciencia de la América su demanda de justicia.

Ya que el espíritu de la Conferencia era eliminar las causas posibles de conflicto que conducen a la guerra, basaron su petición en razonamiento de peso, anhelosas de contribuir, por su parte, a la eliminación de tales causas. En primer lugar, hicieron enfático que las mujeres rechazan la idea "proteccionista" que por tiempo inmemorial ha prevalecido en el mundo con respecto a la mujer, y teniendo delante representantes de países que han tenido amarga experiencia en la protección de los fuertes hacia los débiles, los recordaron que la protección siempre redunda en detrimento de personalidad y falta de justicia a los protegidos. La *protección siempre trae consigo abyección e ignominia para quien la recibe*, sobre todo cuando se trata de pueblos y de seres que teniendo sus propios recursos naturales y morales no pueden desarrollarlos en plenitud por impedírselo precisamente el concepto que se tiene de su inferioridad. *El menosprecio que recibe en su honor el "protegido" a la vez afecta el honor del "protector".*

Esta verdad la saben los pueblos y también la saben las mujeres. Precisamente ahí, en esa conferencia en que iban a saldarse cuentas de incomprensión y de incomprendón, cabía que se escucharan el clamor de quienes a su vez se sienten víctimas de injusticia y de incomprensión. Seguramente que entre aquellos representantes diplomáticos había una gran mayoría de hombres que en sus pueblos han luchado por un estatuto jurídico de igualdad de su patria con relación a las otras patrias. La redención territorial y hasta los pequeños recursos económicos de sus naciones en otros tiempos fueron la razón para que naciones más grandes y poderosas se sintieran con el deber de prestarles ayuda "proteccionista" ayuda que siempre se ha traducido en descontento y malestar tanto de unos como de otros puesto que esta protección no ha sido más que disfrazada tiranía y desmedido afán de absorción de los llamados fuertes para los llamados débiles.

Ningún momento más propicio para presentar una queja que éste en que se consumaba una victoria moral por la firma de un tratado de igualdad para todos los pueblos de la América.

Presentaron su demanda haciendo ver lo inicuo que resulta que hombres y mujeres dentro de un Estado se conviertan en enemigos económicos en vez de desempeñar un papel armónico en colaboración dentro de la industria, del campo o las profesiones, sin prejuicios de subestimación.

Las leyes o las costumbres que en el terreno económico marcan diferencias injustas entre hombres y mujeres, hacen que el valioso instituto del trabajo sufra una influencia disolvente. En donde las leyes del trabajo tienen discriminaciones basadas en sexo y no tienen en cuenta sólo la naturaleza del trabajo mismo, hay siempre una división entre hombres y mujeres que los convierte competidores antagónicos.

No rechazan las mujeres la justicia, (ya que no admiten ni por un momento el concepto de protección) del tratamiento especial para grupos de hombres o de mujeres que requieran una atención especial por parte del Estado dentro de sus necesidades sociales, tales como el seguro del desempleo, accidentes del trabajo, ancianidad o maternidad; pero como se deja asentado, éste por parte del Estado y no por personas o instituciones privadas.

El Brasil, dicen, ofrece un maravilloso ejemplo de cómo pueden resolverse estas contingencias sin afectar el estatuto igualitario para hombres y para mujeres. Citan el ejemplo de los países avanzados en donde se ha establecido el salario mínimo y se han tenido en cuenta factores de naturaleza distintos que la de la diferencia de sexos.

La misma Oficina Internacional del Trabajo de Ginebra anunció este año que no acep

Pasa a la página 25

b.

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tará ya más proposiciones que estén relacionadas con *mujeres únicamente*, sino que de ahora en adelante se tratarán asuntos de *trabajadores*: hombres y mujeres como una sola entidad.

El estatuto de la mujer se ha convertido en una preocupación internacional, especialmente como medida para conservar la estabilidad de una democracia quese ve amenazada por diversas corrientes político-sociales. En 1936 la Asamblea de la Liga de las Naciones, bajo la presidencia del Dr. Saavedra Lamas, decidió a petición de Bolivia, Colombia, Cuba y Haití, poner en la orden del día del período de sesión de 1937 la inclusión del *principio de igualdad* para hombres y mujeres en el Pacto de la Sociedad de las Naciones.

Las mujeres peticionarias asentaron ante la Conferencia de Buenos Aires que la Paz del mundo será más factible cuando la mujer deje de ser considerada sexo inferior, incompetente e irresponsable. Como sentencia fatal asegura que *todo el mecanismo de la paz se desmoronará bajo la presión de los miembros irresponsables de la sociedad*. Por tanto, lo que hay que hacer, dicen, es disminuir el número de los irresponsables y que continúen siéndolo los que efectivamente lo sean, sin que por sistema y a la fuerza sean los elementos que pueden, por sus capacidades potenciales, estar del lado contrario.

Prominentes figuras del lado político y científico enviaron por cable su apoyo a la petición de las mujeres de las Américas, la aviadora, Amelia Earhart, el Diputado Luis Ludlop del Congreso Norteamericano, el internacionalista James Brown Scott, el Ministro de Relaciones Exteriores del Brasil, José Carlo sde Macedo y Suárez y otros muchos se apresuraron a hacer suya esta demanda de justicia.

Escritores, Psicólogos ahondando en este problema de la paz y la guerra aseguran que las mujeres, que se han visto tratadas con menosprecio por una humanidad injusta, llevan subconcientemente un germen de amargura que se traduce en trasmitir a los hijos un constante descontento: una inquietud malsana y un afán perverso sádico de destruir y de preponderar aun a costa de lágrimas y de sangre ¡Quizá tengan razón!

Margarita Robles de Mendoza.

B: "La mujer no como instrumento de la política sino como parte integrante de ell María Pinto Petit, 1937

La mujer no como instrumento de la Política sino como parte integrante de ella

Se dice que un buen Gobierno depende de una buena política y que ésta tiene que ir supeditada a las necesidades del país mismo.

Formula en principio, cuando hay intereses corporativos y de fracción que se atropellan para surgir y estabilizarse a costa del egoísmo y de la supremacía de unos pocos que giran como satélites alrededor de la órbita gubernamental.

La política en los países sudamericanos sufre en estos instantes una transición racial, si es que así puede decirse, ya que su estructura solidificada por añejas intromisiones de bando, tiende hoy a buscar abiertas doctrinas que resguarden la integridad de su forma y de sus fines.

Por ignorancia, por atraso mismo de clases y por falta de interés general, se ha descartado por muchos años a la mujer de estas actividades que vienen a constituir la esencia vital de un pueblo y sobre la cual descansan los cimientos de las futuras generaciones.

Si partimos de un principio básico que afianza explicaciones, la mujer dentro del hogar constituye la parte directriz de él, encarnando junto con sus desvelos de madre o hermana su personalidad, su educación y la experiencia que ha podido recoger en los distintos planos donde ha tenido que actuar para formar el espíritu, robustecer la mente y pulir la materia de los que más tarde con un gesto de indiferencia y prejuicios valoración, la tratarán de incapacitada y falta de razonamiento para discernir sobre problemas sociales y legislativos que sólo incumben por tradición al hombre, siendo éste para sí, la única figura predominante en la especie y en los tiempos.

¿Cuánto ha costado en Europa a la mujer adquirir sus derechos ciudadanos encadenados por convencionalismos de castas y de clases?

¿Qué ha sido la mujer después de la guerra mundial, sino la revelación de un valor que se mantenía estacionario esperando demostrarse y accionar, dando así un ejemplo a la humanidad de su entereza de carácter y esfuerzo en resguardo de un beneficio general?

Reemplaz. al hombre en todas sus faenas y se justificó, no como una conquista de usurpación, sino como una verdad palpitante y llena de esa exaltación grandiosa que parte del sentimiento no atrofiado por mezquindades ni egoísmos malsanos que sólo llevan a la destrucción de clases y a la ruina total en todo orden de cosas.

Sus múltiples actividades, tanto en la industria, en el comercio, en la administración públi ca, etc., hablan muy en alto del sentido de responsabilidad para afrontar cualquier problema a su alcance.

Si es capaz de compartir con el hombre su pan y de gestar en su vientre a las generaciones del porvenir ¿Por qué entonces se ha tratado de excluirla y relegarla como elemento innecesario de las actividades legislativas que como ciudadano de un país libre le corresponden por derecho propio, lo que debiera significar también por derecho constitucional?

Si hay una conciencia de renovación que va encauzada en el alma de este siglo, sea ella la que afiance los ideales y las aspiraciones de la mujer que piensa y siente en pro de una mayor comprensión, lo que equivale a centuplicar el deseo de servir una causa común que es en todo momento, la causa de TODOS.

MARIA PINTO PETIT.

— 19 —

C: "Nuestra coquetería," author unknown, 1934

NUESTRA COQUETERÍA

Nuestra belleza

La belleza de los ojos puede salvar un rostro de rasgos irregulares: por lo tanto, hay que lograr su brillo a toda costa, y cuidar su expresión. No hay excusa si nuestros ojos parecen cansados o viejos, salvo que tengamos una causa que lo haga parecer así. El caso es que muy rara vez hacemos lo que deberíamos en bien de la salud, que es, para la mujer, también belleza.

Hay baños para los ojos que ejercen sobre ellos un efecto admirable; tanto es así, que parecen libertarlos del cansancio y darles vida nueva. Usándolos en un gotero o con una copita destinada al efecto, el baño se efectúa fácilmente. Si es desagradable echar la cabeza hacia atrás, un especialista sugiere usar una cucharita de plata para dejar caer el líquido en los ojos. Puede también usarse un pulverizador que se encontrará en casa de los especialistas de belleza visual. Existen también unas almohadillitas, que descongestionan a nuestros ojos son como una bendición. Estas almohadillitas contienen hierbas curativas: hojas de rosas blancas y esencias de hojas, y han sido usadas desde miles de años, y nuestras abuelas hablaban de ellas como de un filtro mágico de belleza.

Estas almohadillas se mojan en un recipiente de agua caliente y luego se aplican a los ojos y se dejan estar en alivio. La hora mejor para aplicar estos fomentos de belleza es en la tarde, antes de comenzar las actividades sociales de la noche.

Y ahora, mis gentiles lectoras, os repetiré mi consejo: cuidad vuestros ojos, que son el más destacado signo de belleza de un rostro; en ellos está la expresión y la luz del espíritu. Y no olvidéis que no todos los bellos ojos que admiráis lo son naturalmente. Hay una segunda naturaleza. ¡Lograla!

La silueta es el triunfo de la mujer moderna

COMO LOGRARLA

La tendencia a engrosar se puede combatir ajustándose a un régimen alimenticio a base de carne magra, legumbres verdes y frutas, excluyendo toda clase de bebidas, y sólo tomando té después de las comidas y durante el día.

Este régimen se completa con otro tratamiento externo cuya fórmula damos a continuación.

Vaselina: 60 gramos.
Extracto de nuez vómica: 0,60 gr.
Iodo metálico: 0,60 gr.
Extracto de verbena: 10 gr.

Las aplicaciones se harán acompañadas de masajes.

Siempre jóvenes

Lo que hay que hacer con las arrugas del cuello

Apliquese en las arrugas una mezcla de:

Agua de Rosas: 100 gramos
Glicerina neutra: 25 gramos
Tanino: 75 gramos

Simultaneamente con este tratamiento se harán masajes con una mezcla de lanolina y aceite de oliva en partes iguales.

Las manos se colocarán en forma que los movimientos del masaje vayan dirigidos del mentón o de la barbilla hacia la nuca.

Para conservarnos hermosas

Una de las cosas que más avejentan son esas líneas que aparecen de la nariz a la boca, en forma de paréntesis. Esto no es necesariamente un signo de vejez, pues a veces se ven hasta en caras muy jóvenes. En este caso son producidas por la desnutrición que causan las dietas exageradas y desaparecen al engordar la cara. Si aparecen por aquello de los años, no hay que abandonarlas. El remedio es soplar. Pues! Como si se quisiera apagar una luz del otro lado del cuarto. Hay que darles masajes a esos paréntesis. Se toma un poco de crema con la punta de los dedos, se comienza el masaje a las extremidades de la boca, subiendo hasta la nariz como quien dibuja o pinta las arrugas. Hágase esto veinte veces diarias y a los pocos días se notará ya una mejoría.

D: "Consejos para las damas," author unknown, 1938

a.

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Consejos para las Damas

de verdadera atracción, y ella no es más que el resultado de continuados esfuerzos tanto mentales como físicos. ¿Se ha reflexionado alguna vez con la frecuencia con que clasificamos rostros como tipos y tipos ampliamente determinados con atributos mentales? ¿Qué es lo que nos inspira esa clasificación? Algunas veces, las facciones; casi siempre, la expresión. Los hábitos se reflejan en el rostro.

Lo que se aspira a ser, lo que se sueña, lo que se desea de largo tiempo, todo eso contribuye a agregar o quitar belleza a la expresión.

La herencia también juega un papel importante en el aspecto de las personas. Se puede heredar el cabello rojizo de un abuelo, y la deliciosa naricita de la madre, o el contorno craneano que caracteriza a los miembros de la rama paterna, detalles todos que pueden influir tanto en un sentido como en otro.

Pero cuando llega el día en que la mujer —tarde o temprano lo hacen todas— se mira al espejo y dice «quiero ser bonita, ¿puedo serlo?», es ese el momento de estudiar el rostro honestamente, sin prevenciones, y calcular que se puede hacer para corregirlo, teniendo en cuenta lo que un sabio ha dicho acertadamente: «La belleza no es sólo el aspecto externo y la buena combinación de proporciones, hay mucho interno, de moral, que influye en las líneas físicas. No puede ser una persona bella si esconde un carácter perverso. Estas tienen siempre algo en las facciones de frío y duro que las delata».

LA BONDAD Y LA BELLEZA

En general la creencia de que cuando la fortuna favorece con sus dones a una persona, empieza siempre por la belleza. Belleza del rostro, belleza de la forma, ¿a qué más puede aspirar una mujer?

Sin embargo, si se analiza bien la pregunta se llegará a la conclusión de que se confunde lamentablemente el don de la hermosura con el encanto o la fascinación o vice-versa; no obstante, nada tiene de común entre sí. Las seductoras de la historia han sido, por lo general bellas, pero en igual número se cuentan las feas que se hicieron adorar por sus virtudes.

Una mujer de lindas facciones y carente de espíritu vive en una atmósfera de eterno temor. La perfección es tan frágil que el más leve soplo puede terminar con ella. Un rostro perfecto no hace más que pregonar la fortuna de su dueña... ¡mientras dura! Proféticamente cualquier rostro femenino tiene posibilidades

EL ABANDONO FÍSICO

El abandono físico por parte de algunas mujeres ha sido motivo de disgustos en mu

b.

ACIÓN FEMENINA 43

chos matrimonios. Esta falta absoluta de coquetería no es femenina, y hay que tener presente que siendo ésta una cualidad innata de la mujer, nunca debe perderse.

He conocido a una señora que no se explicaba por qué su marido la miraba con indiferencia: estaba en ella tan arraigado el hábito del descuido que no se daba cuenta de que esa era la causa de que su esposo no se interesara por su persona.

Ha sido muy comentado el caso de un joven que estando enamoradísimo de su novia, vió a la madre de ella horriblemente descuidada y deformada por el hábito de la pereza, y presumiendo lo que sería su novia, fué tal la obsesión que lo perseguía que, pese a todo su amor buscó un pretexto cualquiera para romper su compromiso.

Si a todas las mujeres desde pequeñas les inculcaran el sentido estético, y a disponer de un tiempo para el cuidado de su persona (no necesita ser artificial); otro sería el espectáculo que veríamos en las calles, teatros o casas...

Y si esto no es aceptable en la clase menos baja, menos imperdonable lo será en la más acomodada.

No es, pues, coquetería el arreglarse.

La Revista "Santiago Elegante"

Con sumo agrado hemos recibido el último número de esta magnífica Revista trimestral, hábilmente dirigida por la señora María Lefebre de Rodríguez. Como siempre trae un seleccionado material de lectura, destacando las principales actividades sociales y diplomáticas de nuestra capital. La regia presentación y los preciosos gráficos que adornan sus páginas, hace que «Santiago Elegante» sea una de las mejores Revistas en su género.

Felicitamos a su Directora y propietaria y le auguramos un éxito cada vez más creciente.

Exclusivo para «Acción Femenina»

.....

La mujer como el artista que de un trozo de mármol saca una figura con la belleza y el alma de su inspiración, puede más tarde amparada por todos los derechos, sacar una nueva generación honra de la humanidad futura

V.

E: Examples of advertisements

a.

b.


Blanquee sus dientes rápidamente
Perborol
Con sus finos ingredientes blanqueará sus dientes, y con su rico sabor a menta refrescará su boca
Use Ud. Perborol
el gran dentrífico moderno a precio económico
Precio: $ 4.80
Un valioso complemento para su higiene bucal
Elixir Perborol
EL FRASCO
$ 6
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PASTA DENTIFRICA PERBORAL
PERBOROL
y la cutis
Distribuidores: Mayan Ltda. - Santiago de Chile

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Policing Queer Bodies

By Corrine Hays

Corrine Hays is a Junior at the University of Notre Dame, studying Psychology and Gender Studies. Originally from Indianapolis, Indiana, Corrine is currently the president of Johnson Family Hall. In addition to Hall President's Council, Corrine serves as a program coordinator for the Gender Relations Center, participates in club swimming, and tutors 3rd graders at a South Bend elementary school. Corrine is passionate about the implementation of alternatives to incarceration and chose to research the effects of punitive justice on LGBTQ communities for her Sociology course. After graduation, Corrine hopes to pursue a graduate degree that combines her interests in Psychology, Gender Studies, and violence prevention.

Introduction

It is well known that the United States has an unprecedented history of mass incarceration. In 2012, for example, though the U.S. only accounted for about 5 percent of the world's population, "close to 25 percent of the world's prisoners were held in American prisons" (Travis et. al., 2014, p.2). Following the death of George Floyd, conversation regarding structural racism, police brutality, and the criminal justice system within the United States has recently gained momentum. For instance, Black Lives Matter, the massive social movement protesting violence against Black communities, calls American individuals to consider how over-policing, over-incarceration, and inadequate healthcare has created a failing system in which "Black men are about 2.5 times more likely to be killed by police over the life course than white men," (Edwards et. al, 2019, p.16794). George Floyd's death served as a vital wake-up call to the current pandemic of police brutality against Black individuals within the United States. Although increased visibility of and support for the Black Lives Matter movement has led to a rightful fight for racial justice, however, another harrowing story of carceral violence often remains invisible: the over-policing and disproportionate incarceration of the LGBTQ community. LGBTQ populations are over-represented at every stage of the criminal justice system and subject to disproportionate rates of institutional violence (Jones, 2021). For example, according to a survey by Lambda Legal, harassment and assault by police are common occurrences within LGBT communities: more than one in eight respondents (14%) who had police contact in the past five years reported verbal assault by police, while 3% reported sexual harassment and 2% reported physical assault (Lambda Legal, 2012). The violence against LGBTQ populations, specifically regarding the criminal justice system, has not received enough national attention; as a consequence of over-policing and disproportionate rates of incarceration, queer individuals are losing their right to freedom, and oftentimes, their lives.

Over-Policing Queer Communities

Policing Gender

Gender policing is a broad term that refers to the maintenance of a heterosexual, cisgendered notion of social order by formal institutions, laws, policies, or daily interactions (Bohrer, 2021). In other words, in American society, individuals are pressured into expressing a socially constructed standard of binary gender and heterosexuality. This tendency to reward cis-gender, heterosexual individuals and punish queer communities is especially evident within the criminal justice system. In her essay "Gender Policing the Poor: Toward a Conceptual Apparatus," Ashley J. Bohrer writes: "it is widely recognized in queer and trans circles that both civilians and actual police officers participate in the enforcement of gender norms and expectations, actively enforcing conceptions of dimorphic sex and heteronormativity" (Bohrer, 2021, p.75). Andrea Ritchie expresses a similar notion in her book *Invisible No More:* "throughout U.S. history, police have consistently targeted women and gender-nonconforming people and used harassment, physical and sexual violence, arrest, lethal force, and denial of protection to produce, maintain, and reify racially constructed gender norms, even as the legal landscape of gender has shifted over time" (Ritchie, 2017, p.127). Regardless of modern perceptions of gender, the police play a role in punishing those who deviate from a racially constructed standard of gender expression or sexuality. Historically speaking, based on their sexual orientation and gender expression, LGBTQ people have been intentionally and systematically targeted by law enforcement (Goldeberg et. al., 2019). The over-representation of LGBTQ individuals in the criminal justice system is a product of gendered policing in which those who oppose the gender binary or refuse to conform to traditional notions of heterosexuality are criminalized.

Sodomy Laws

This targeting of queer individuals, those who do not conform to traditional notions of gender or heterosexuality, was originally

fueled by legislation. Beginning in the mid-20th century, anti-sodomy laws were passed to criminalize consensual sex between individuals of the same sex and prohibit specific sexual acts (Goldeberg, 2019). Originally, sodomy laws were primarily used as "secondary charges in cases of sexual assault, sex with children, public sex and sex with animals" (American Civil Liberties Union, 2021, para.1). However, in the late 1960s, this legislation was altered to specifically target queer people: in nine states, sodomy laws were re-written so that they only applied to gay people (American Civil Liberties Union, 2021). Essentially, sodomy laws criminalized all "homosexuals" by legitimizing discrimination against queer individuals; behavior that would be considered mundane for heterosexual individuals, such as finding employment or adopting children, was suddenly criminalized (Mince-Didier, 2021). Though sodomy laws were ruled unconstitutional in 2003, as of 2016, "fifteen states still had not repealed laws criminalizing private consensual sexual behavior between adults of the same sex" (Goldeberg et. al., 2017, p.2). In other words, this troubling notion that those who do not conform to heterosexuality deserve to be punished and criminalized remains intact and heavily influences the history of policing (Goldeberg et. al., 2017).

Cross-Dressing Laws

In addition to laws prohibiting non-procreative sex acts, other legislation has served to criminalize gender non-conforming individuals as well. For example, according to Andrea Ritchie, the "enforcement of sumptuary laws—laws designed to regulate habits on moral or religious grounds—is one of the more recognized forms of gender policing" (Ritchie, 2019, p.128). Specifically, in San Francisco, laws prohibiting cross-dressing were used to draw lines around gender-appropriate behaviors and criminalize those with a gender identity that diverged from their legal sex (Ritchie, 2019). Individuals spotted with less than three pieces of clothing belonging to their perceived sex could be arrested and charged with "impersonating the opposite sex" (Ritchie, 2019, p.131). Police were always looking for an opportunity

to punish those violating gender norms, and at times, these interactions proved fatal: in 1970, "police shot a young Black person in Chicago in the back eight times after seeing the person on the street wearing women's clothes" (Ritchie, 2019, p.131). Again, while formal sumptuary laws have since been ruled unconstitutional, the policing of perceived gender norm violations persists. In 2002, for example, a Black lesbian reported that officers nonconsensually unbuttoned her trousers during a street search and asked if she was a "dyke" (Ritchie, 2019, 131). In 2006, officers arrested a person wearing "a woman's sweater, eyeliner, an earring, and a ponytail" for theft, claiming the individual was "a man with a purse" (Ritchie, 2019, p.133). Ritchie argues that the police inherently associate gender nonconformity with danger and mental instability, and consequently, trans individuals, especially those of color, face the consequences (Ritchie, 2019).

Policing Sex Work

The policing of sex and sexuality, especially for transgender women of color, is predominantly expressed through laws prohibiting prostitution (Ritchie, 2019). According to Bohrer, "trans people are eleven times more likely to engage in some form of sex work than cisgender women," resulting in a disproportionate exposure to police (Bohrer, 2021, p.84). In fact, according to the National Transgender Discrimination Survey, of those who reported engaging in sex work, 79% reported police interaction at some point in their lives (Goldeberg et. al., 2019). This interaction often takes the form of verbal abuse: a series of interviews with trans sex workers from 2000 revealed that police officers frequently shout "faggot" or "queers" at sex workers (Bohrer, 2021, p.84). The stigma that all trans or queer individuals are sexually deviant prostitutes often leads to unjust profiling, especially for people of color. For example, "According to the 2015 US Transgender Survey, 15% of Black transgender women reported being profiled by police as sex workers when they were not engaged in sex work" (Goldeberg et. al., 2019, p.6). Many queer or trans sex workers have also reported sexual assault from police

officers: "more than 25 percent of respondents to the 2015 US Transgender Survey who were or were perceived to be involved in the sex trades were sexually assaulted by police" (Ritchie, 2019, p.156). Police officers associate trans women, especially those of color, with sexual deviance, leading to increased criminalization of and violence against the LGBTQ community (Ritchie, 2019).

Quality-of-Life Policing

Finally, as a consequence of law enforcement policies that target vulnerable populations, LGBTQ individuals are subject to disproportionate interaction with the police (Bohrer, 2021). Over the past 30 years, law enforcement officials have begun to prioritize "quality-of-life" policing: the theory that the urgent and severe policing of minor crimes will prevent future neighborhood deterioration and deter more violent crime (Goldeberg et. al., 2019, p.4). Quality-of-life policing responds to a wide variety of normally non-criminal activities such as loitering, graffiti, unlicensed street vending, or other public nuisance statutes with a "tough on crime" attitude; police departments tend to only use these policies in specific neighborhoods, those with high crime rates, a poor public perception, or concern from residents (Goldeberg et. al., 2019, p.4). Because trans and queer folks are prone "to higher rates of homelessness, unemployment, employment in criminalized industries, and a lack of family support," they are especially vulnerable to this criminalization of minor infractions and over-policing of impoverished neighborhoods (Bohrer, 2021, p.82). These disproportionate encounters with police frequently involve misconduct or harassment: of those respondents reporting face-to-face police contact in a 2012 national survey, "21% reported encountering hostile attitudes from officers, 14% reported verbal assault by the police, 3% reported sexual harassment, and 2% reported physical assault at the hands of law enforcement officers" (Lambda Legal, 2012, p.6). Further reports of sexual harassment are particularly harrowing: in general, compared to cisgender respondents, "TGNC

respondents were more than twice as likely to report sexual harassment by police" (Lambda Legal, 2012, p.11).

This quality-of-life policing grants extensive discretion to individual law enforcement officers and their underlying biases (Goldeberg et. al., 2019). For example, groups of queer youth (especially homeless youth) are vulnerable to anti-loitering efforts: "In a survey of LGBTQ youth in New Orleans, 87% of youth of color had been approached by the police compared to just 33% of White youth" (Goldeberg et. al., 2019, p.5). Trans individuals are also impacted by these anti-loitering laws; some report harassment from law enforcement after being perceived as dangerous by "walking while trans" (Diaz, 2021). For example, Allen Galbreath, a Black gender-nonconforming ballet dancer, was accosted, questioned, and arrested by police officers for disorderly conduct while exercising in a park (Ritchie, 2019). Elena, a trans woman of color, was attacked by police officers while getting coffee; the cops threw her drink on the ground, told her to "get on your knees, you fucking faggot," and held her there for over thirty minutes until she was taken to the local precinct (Ritchie, 2019, p.137). Queer individuals are criminalized based on racialized narratives of the gender binary and heterosexuality, and consequently, violent police contact is a pervasive reality for members of the LGBTQ community. Also, police demands for identification during stops motivated by quality-of-life policing can be dangerous for trans individuals (Ritchie, 2019). Police officers may perform "gender checks" or searches aimed at determining an individual's "true" sex. These humiliating searches often lead to both verbal and physical violence against trans folks. One trans individual reports having to drop her pants and expose her genitals in a New York precinct so the officers could "determine her gender" (Ritchie, 2019, p.138). Overall, in attempting to prevent violent crime by policing low-level offenses, law enforcement unjustly profiles the LGBTQ community.

LGBTQ Representation Within the Criminal Justice System

Arrest and Incarceration

The over-policing of LGBTQ individuals has measurable and devastating consequences. In 2019, for example, gay, lesbian, and bisexual individuals were 2.25 times as likely to be arrested in the past twelve months than straight individuals (Jones, 2019). Interestingly, this disparity is driven by queer women: lesbian and bisexual women are about four times as likely to be arrested than straight women (Jones, 2019). Though it's difficult to speak definitely about the cause of over-representation, Lara Stemple, the director of the Health and Human Rights Law Project at UCLA, speculates that "Thinking about gender theory, women who defy norms of femininity may be more likely to be perceived as aggressive and dangerous" (Moreau, 2017, para.8). These unprecedented rates of arrest lead to the disproportionate incarceration of queer folks. Lesbian, gay, and bisexual individuals are incarcerated at a rate over three times that of straight people (Jones, 2019). Again, both race and gender play an important role in this narrative. While one in six trans people have been incarcerated, nearly half of Black trans individuals (47%) report jail time (Jones, 2019). Though a concerning one in twenty men in prison identifies as gay or bisexual (compared to only 3.6% of the population), women once again take the lead: a striking one in three women in prison identify as gay or bisexual (compared to only 3.4% of the general population) (Jones, 2019).

These high rates of arrest and incarceration become especially concerning when considering the inhumane conditions LGBTQ individuals face in prisons. For example, sexual minorities are more likely to be punished with solitary confinement than their straight counterparts, a punishment with well-documented harmful effects (Jones, 2019). Trans individuals face particularly dangerous conditions: they are often placed in single-sex housing that does not match their gender identity, are frequently denied routine healthcare, and are prevented from accessing hormones (Jones, 2019). Prisoners and

detainees who are (or are perceived to be) gay, transgender, or gender-nonconforming are "more likely to be sexually assaulted, coerced, and harassed than their heterosexual and gender-conforming counterparts" (Mogul et. al., 2011, p.99). Specifically, according to the Bureau of Justice Statistics, queer men and women are "almost 10 times as likely to be victimized by another incarcerated person and 2.6 times as likely to be victimized by staff" (Jones, 2019). It is not uncommon for guards to dismiss accounts of sexual violence against queer people, reflecting "homophobic and transphobic narratives that queer and trans people are hypersexual and hence un-rape-able" (Bohrer, 2021, p.85). For instance, Roderick Johnson, a Black gay man, was repeatedly raped and harassed at a maximum-security prison in 2000 (Mogul et. al., 2011). Despite attempts to report the sexual violence and appeal for safe housing, the Unit Classification Committee repeatedly denied his requests, claiming there was insufficient evidence (Mogul et. al., 2011). These disturbing stories of sexual violence among LGBTQ prisoners are tragically common, suggesting that the over-policing of queer communities can ultimately lead to life-ruining carceral violence.

A Radical Solution is Needed

The problem is clear: a history of policing gender lines and enforcing racialized depictions of heterosexuality has led to the over-representation of LGBTQ individuals within the criminal justice system. While the United States tends to associate law enforcement with safety and security, the current system is failing to protect (and instead endangering) queer bodies. Recently, the United States has primarily responded to systemic police brutality with efforts to reform law enforcement. For example, the End Racial and Religious Profiling Act, an attempt to "prohibit federal, state, and local law enforcement from targeting a person based on actual or perceived race, ethnicity, national origin, religion, gender, gender identity, or sexual orientation," requires law enforcement to adopt policies designed to limit profiling, increase data collection, and implement bias training for officers

(Human Rights Campaign, 2021, para.1). Of course, federal legislation prohibiting officers from profiling citizens based on their sexual orientation or gender identity is a step in the right direction. However, queer activists fear that these reform efforts might not be enough to address the systemic harm and deeply rooted homophobia at play. In fact, a growing body of evidence suggests that when implemented locally, the federal reform efforts proposed in the End Racial and Religious Profiling Bill have not succeeded in limiting police violence (Levin, 2020). A study from Cornell sought to explore whether mandatory implicit bias training actually limited racial profiling within the New York Police Department. The findings were grim: while officers expressed more awareness about implicit bias, there was no meaningful change in rates of arrest or police interaction among communities of color (Kaste, 2020). Queer people of color are at greatest risk for police violence and arrest, suggesting that forced bias training would also have a limited effect in reducing the criminalization of LGBTQ individuals. Other reform efforts to reduce police violence have proved unsatisfactory as well. Research regarding the use of body cameras has shown no statistical difference in reducing police violence, and increased diversity within police forces has done little to curb community distrust (Levin, 2020). The failures of past reforms call for radical change; it's time to develop responses to violence that don't involve the police (Ritchie, 2019).

Policy Proposal

An Office of Neighborhood Safety

In her well-known essay "Yes, We Mean Literally Abolish the Police," Mariame Kaba writes: "We can't reform the police. The only way to diminish police violence is to reduce contact between the public and the police" (Kaba, 2020, para.2). In other words, to effectively eradicate police violence, the U.S. must first attempt to reduce police contact by restructuring the vision for public safety. A new report published by the Center for American Progress does just this: the proposed policy offers "a road map for city governments to

invest in a community-driven approach to public safety," by first establishing an Office of Neighborhood Safety (Cusick et. al., 2021, p.1). Unlike the police department, this Office of Neighborhood Safety, or ONS, would not be part of the criminal justice system. Rather, it would be funded by the city government and "staffed by civilians with no authority to enforce the law" (Pearl, 2020, p.4). An ONS would serve as a "hub for all nonpunitive public safety functions," with hopes of reducing police interference and state violence within communities (Cusick et. al., 2021, p.1). An ONS would establish a variety of non-punitive measures to ensure that arrest and incarceration are no longer the first response to crime or harm (Cusick et. al., 2021). For example, an ONS could support a violence interruption model in which community members who are trained and able to connect with high-risk individuals serve as conflict mediators. Transformative mentoring programs could help those at highest risk of engaging in violence by providing conflict resolution strategies. Job readiness programs have been shown to reduce violence and other risky behaviors; an ONS could institute a program to prepare individuals to succeed in the workplace and achieve educational goals. Finally, an ONS would coordinate nonpolice responses to calls for service. Rather than immediately taking folks to a jail or hospital, a social worker or trained professional could respond to community conflicts and disturbances by connecting people with the services they need (Cusick et. al., 2021). All in all, an Office of Neighborhood Safety would serve as a holistic alternative to punitive justice; this policy is a vital first step in creating a future in which harm and violence are mediated by trusted community members rather than reproduced by the police.

Previous Evidence

Over the last several decades, various community-based interventions that serve as an alternative to the traditional criminal justice system have been successfully implemented and evaluated (Pearl, 2021). In 2007, the city of Richmond, California established its

own ONS with hopes of preventing gun violence and strengthening community safety (Pearl, 2021). When first established in 2007, Richmond had the highest homicide rate in California. However, in 2017, the city's homicide rate had fallen by 80 percent (Pearl, 2021). Specifically, according to the American Journal of Public Health, "ONS programming was associated with a 55 percent reduction in gun homicides and hospitalizations and a 43 percent reduction in firearm-related crimes" (Pearl, 2021, p.5). The numbers are staggering: in theory, less violent crime leads to less police interaction, meaning queer people are at less of a risk for carceral violence. The Crisis Assistance Helping Out On The Streets (CAHOOTS) Program, established in Eugene, Oregon, is another successful community-based model for responding to less urgent calls for service. Established in 1989, CAHOOTS "dispatches teams of medics and crisis intervention workers, rather than police officers, to respond to calls for service related to non-emergency medical and social service needs" (Pearl, 2021, p.11). CAHOOTS serves as a cost-effective alternative to law enforcement response: using only 2 percent of the budget of the police department, the program responds to about 17 percent of 911 calls (Pearl, 2021). Additionally, CAHOOTS provides services that LGBTQ individuals most impacted by carceral violence can benefit from, such as "behavioral health interventions and de-escalation, family dispute mediation, welfare checks, basic medical care, and transportation to social services" (Pearl, 2021, p.11). A future without unnecessary policing is not merely a dream, but rather an achievable reality.

Funding

In an effort to strengthen community well-being, individual cities would be responsible for implementing an Office of Neighborhood Safety (Pearl, 2021). Ideally, funds for an ONS would be allocated from the city's annual budget, starting with the mayor's proposed spending plan (Pearl, 2021). Other options for funding an Office of Neighborhood Safety could include capping the growth of or shrinking police budgets. In developing non-punitive, community-

based responses to violence, it seems only logical to redirect funds from police expansion to efforts to strengthen public health and safety (Pearl, 2021). Overall, previously implemented community-based solutions are much less costly than police departments. For example, in comparison to the $502 per capita spending on the Milwaukee Police Department, the Milwaukee Office of Violence Prevention requires only $4 per capita spending (Pearl, 2021). Regardless of cost, queer communities are suffering at the hands of carceral violence; policymakers must make a firm commitment to sustaining community-based, non-punitive interventions to reduce violence and save lives (Pearl, 2021).

Centering the Queer Community

Though little research is available on the direct relationship between community-based intervention and reduction of police violence or incarceration in LGBTQ communities, it's important to note that, "For a long time, queer and trans people, especially Black and Indigenous people and other people of color, have been some of the leading activists in movements for police and prison abolition" (Spade, 2020, para.2). As suggested by Dean Spade, the police are leading perpetrators of violence against queer and trans people, not their protectors (2020). Consequently, policies to reform the police are fundamentally incompatible with queer communities. In developing a policy to address carceral violence against queer people, one must look to the LGBTQ community for guidance. In fact, many queer organizations have "piloted, practiced, and reflected on how we respond to violence without police" for decades (Ritchie, 2019, p.201). Much like an Office of Neighborhood Safety, the Audre Lorde Project, "a Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Two Spirit, Trans and Gender Non Conforming People of Color center for community organizing," challenges police violence by offering community-based strategies and intervention (The Audre Lorde Project, 2021, About Section). Implementing an Office of Neighborhood Safety will allow cities to mirror queer-based, grassroots strategies for violence intervention on a

greater scale. Queer activists realize that there is no reforming a system built to oppress those who differ from traditional notions of gender and heterosexuality. An Office of Neighborhood Safety reflects this: by implementing community-based solutions that respond to violence without the police, cities can prioritize this need for abolition.

Conclusion

Throughout this paper, I argue that the history of policing gender lines and enforcing racialized norms of heterosexuality has led to the over-representation of LGBTQ individuals within the criminal justice system. Because LGBTQ individuals are endangered by each stage of our criminal justice system, I argue that radical change, such as the implementation of an Office of Neighborhood Safety, is needed. Previous attempts to reduce police brutality have primarily involved reforms and additional guidelines for law enforcement, yet these efforts have resulted in little, if any, improvement. It is vital to recognize that queer lives are threatened by both this discriminatory system of punitive justice and these lukewarm efforts of reformation. Advocates must work to center queer voices in the fight for liberation from carceral violence. Queer activist Gem Nwanne says it best: "There is no queer and trans liberation without the abolition of police and the prison industrial complex" (Nwanne et. al., 2020, last para.). I recognize that this policy proposal is not a universal call to abolish the police; however, in implementing an Office of Neighborhood Safety, cities would take an important first step in dismantling our current system of policing. In other words, practicing community-based efforts that do not involve the police will allow cities to stop relying primarily on law enforcement to mitigate harm and instead work towards an abolitionist future. The United States' reliance on punitive justice and law enforcement is failing marginalized communities; it's time to reinvent public safety and create a community-based effort in which all individuals feel protected.

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Drag as More Than a Performance: A Sociological Analysis of Drag, Gender, Heteronormativity, and Hegemony

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The art of drag is a "performance that visually questions the meaning of gender" (Rupp and Taylor 2003:1) that can affect the thoughts and beliefs of the drag performers, audiences, and broader society. Because drag exaggerates, subverts, and rebels against traditional performances of masculinity and femininity (for example, big hair or a muscle suit), how do scholars categorize drag? How does drag interact with hegemonic masculinity and heteronormativity that hierarchize the gender system? These questions are increasingly relevant due to drag's leap into mainstream culture with the introduction of *RuPaul's Drag Race* on television (Brennan and Gudelunas 2017). In this paper, I will utilize existing scholarship on drag in order to better decipher its function for drag performers, audiences, and the social structure of gender itself (Risman 2004) through three separate focuses. First, I argue that drag resists gender categorization, thus having agency over heteronormativity. Second, I show how drag's uncategorizable nature regarding gender dismantles hegemonic masculinity's power and dominance in drag performance. Finally, I focus on the current mainstreaming of drag that complicates and sedates drag's ability to destabilize and challenge hegemony and heteronormativity by becoming increasingly commercialized and enveloped within the capitalist system.

CATEGORIZING DRAG

Scholars have continuously attempted to categorize drag through many criteria, most commonly by arguing that a drag performance distinguishes one's biological sex from the gender performed on stage (Butler 1990; Rupp and Taylor 2003:31; Taylor and Rupp 2004:114-115; Tuana 2002:158). However, especially with the increasing visibility of trans drag performers, this categorization of drag becomes useless and outdated (Rogers 2018). I use the existing literature to examine how drag resists categorization, especially binaries made to place drag in one space or another, and thus claims agency over heteronormative notions.

Labeling drag with any this-or-that categorizations undermines and simplifies drag's ability to disrupt binary thinking, especially regarding gender. More and more, drag combats the common association that drag is someone of one sex performing a character of the "opposite" gender, with the criteria being the genitalia of the performer. People typically think drag queens are gay men who perform in female drag, and drag kings are lesbian women who perform in male drag. However, this factually is not the case. Many trans performers perform drag in the gender they identify with outside of drag (Rogers 2018). There are plenty of male drag kings. There are plenty of drag performers who perform drag with masculine and feminine attributes, sometimes simultaneously (Rupp and Taylor 2003). As drag has progressed, many have disrupted the dichotomous definition between biological sex and performed drag gender.

As Schilt and Westbrook argue, "When gender category and heterosexual authenticity are policed through reference to genitalia, the choice of targets is gendered" (2009:452). This quote highlights how policing gender through the lens of heteronormativity can permeate perceptions of drag by defining drag performers based on genitalia rather than personal identity or drag performance. This speaks to the idea of sex categorization inherent in heteronormativity. Even when drag performers dress in a gender not their own, or even an exaggerated version of their gender, it is still the assumed genitalia that sex categorizes individuals, only seeing drag as an "illusion" of another gender (Schilt and Westbrook 2009:459). This speaks to a biological and essentialist view of gender, rooting it in biology regardless of what gender is being done and accomplished on the stage (West and Zimmerman 1987).

So how does drag engage with heteronormativity, especially if a binary between the performer's sex and gender performed on stage grips the audience? I argue the scholarship shows drag both undoes and reinforces heteronormativity (Greaf 2016:655), a phenomenon that consequentially subverts heteronormativity's control and creates agency over it for drag performers (Schilt and Westbrook 2009:441).

Greaf shows that drag performers take "characteristics from both the heterosexual and LGBTQI communities in order to create their persona, self-identity, and their stage performances" (2016:655). Heller argues that drag undermines the myopic viewpoint of comparing the "'authentic' sex to performed gender" (2020:194), upending heteronormativity's policing nature based on biology and genitalia. By both borrowing from and resisting heteronormativity and its attributes, drag takes a subversive identity that challenges social norms regarding sex and gender's inseparability and invariability (Schilt and Westbrook 2009).

Drag performers can intentionally and unintentionally both resist and subscribe to heteronormative ideals, sometimes in the same performance, undermining the binary idea that drag is completely subversive or completely reactionary (Stokoe 2019:147). Therefore, can we fully label all drag as "subversive," even if a performance upholds heteronormative ideals? Because drag can both subvert and uphold heteronormativity through performance, this shows the agentic power drag has regarding heteronormativity, challenging its controlling power. Heteronormativity is part of the essentialist sex/gender system that upholds a belief in two opposite sexes determined by biology (Schilt and Westbrook 2009). Thus, heteronormativity partakes in a system that orders society and maintains social and cultural dominance, especially over those combatting this system. This being said, as previously discussed, drag plays upon both heteronormative and queer notions, mixing and matching both masculine and feminine attributes into performance. Even if, for example, a gay man dresses in exaggerated female attributes (big hair, excessive makeup, a breastplate), they are toying with heteronormativity: dressing with "traditional" feminine attributes but complicating the connection between gender performance and sex inherent in heteronormativity through their presentation. Thus, heteronormativity becomes a tool for drag to trouble, resist, and dismantle gender, fundamentally shifting heteronormativity's social control through drag's agency over this deeply steeped social belief.

My argument up to this point deals with the individual levels of gender: how individuals can do gender through drag that causes heteronormativity to become a tool to which to dismantle individual notions of gender. Before discussing other levels of gender—interactional, institutional, or the gender structure itself— I must discuss another example of drag individually upending the gender system: trans drag performers. This next section will discuss the "transfeminist approach to drag" (Greaf 2019) by examining the nexus between transgender identities and drag performers, showing how these intersecting identities fundamentally challenge understandings of drag, gender, and gender performance.

Transgender Drag Performers

The performance of drag has the power to transform "the gender identity and politics of the drag performer" (Shapiro 2007:251), potentially through radicalization or exploration. For example, drag catalyzed many trans drag performers to question and redefine their gender identities (Rogers 2018:809). In their study of drag kings, Baker and Kelly found that these kings experienced identity transformation due to drag (2016), speaking to the educational value of drag (Shapiro 2007:262). Drag provides a "safe and fun arena for exploring gender identity" (Rogers 2018:809) that allows trans and cis performers to imagine gender differently, potentially shifting or altering understandings of their own gender identity as well. This does not mean that when trans individuals identify as trans that they stop performing drag, but rather they simply perform drag with a different individual gender identity than previously before.

This speaks to the idea of "drag as resource" for performers, especially trans individuals, to explore and question their gender identity (Rogers 2018:890). Especially for drag performers in rural and Southern areas, for example, drag is "one of the few options to turn to for information about gender identity and gender transition" (Rogers 2018:890), making it a valuable resource to question gender, whether their gender identity aligns with the gender they perform in drag or

not. While this helps understand the individual level of gender and drag, how do trans drag performers shape the interactional understandings of gender? Stokoe's transfeminist approach to drag (2020) provides an excellent lens to explore the interactional understandings of drag.

Stokoe states that a transfeminist approach to drag is fundamentally opposed to the idea that drag is a performing-opposite-gender enactment (2020:163). Rather, a transfeminist approach defines drag "on the basis of the gender(s) performed onstage" (2020:164). Allowing gender to be plural is crucial in this definition, as a performer can enact multiple gendered attributes in a performance, widening the scope of drag as not solely a feminine or masculine performance. Furthermore, a transfeminist approach respects the performer's gender identity and avoids the idea of gender as opposites (man and women) in order to encourage "theorists to concentrate on what is happening onstage…rather than on the gender of the performer," allowing a closer concentration on the context of the performance itself (2020:164). This argument poses a stark rebuttal to previous definitions of drag that hinge on both one's sex and gender performed in drag (Butler 1990; Rupp and Taylor 2003:31; Taylor and Rupp 2004:114-115; Tuana 2002:158) by arguing that the sole focus in understanding drag should be on the gendered performance, not the individual performers' gender identities or sexes. By disentangling individual identity from performance identity, how does this shift understandings of heteronormativity and the sex/gender system?

I believe the transfeminist approach to drag can only be used when viewing gender through an interactional lens, contesting heteronormativity at this level of gender. Individually, while some aspects of the transfeminist approach to drag are valid, its implications provide an incomplete analysis of drag. When understanding gender at the individual level as a performance and accomplishment, how can one make sense of an individual's gender identity without looking at both the individual's gender performance on stage and gender presentation out of drag (West and Zimmerman 1987)? Trans

individuals using drag as a resource to shape, challenge, or cement their gender identity must incorporate an understanding of both individual and drag gender identity and performance. Even if someone performs the same gender in and out of drag, they perform gender differently. Thus, both gender performances should be considered to understand the individual's understanding of gender and gender identity, minimizing the effectiveness of a transfeminist approach to drag at the individual level of gender.

Interactionally, however, the transfeminist approach to drag is more apt for understanding drag performances in relation to gender. In a drag performance, an individual (or group) interacts with and performs to an audience. There is virtually no interaction between the audience and the individual performer's gender identity itself, only the drag performance of gender. No matter what gender the individual identifies as, their interactions with an audience utilize and disrupt heteronormative assumptions and conventional notions of gender themselves. A trans woman in female drag upends and has agentic control over heteronormativity just as much as if it were a cis man in male drag or a cis man in both male and female drag. The individual identity is rendered irrelevant in a transfeminist approach; it is the performance that matters when challenging heteronormativity, because, as I argue, an analysis of the interactional level of gender can use the transfeminist approach to drag.

While the transfeminist approach to drag can analyze drag performances interactionally, how does this approach manifest and play out off the stage? What is lost when we solely focus on the stage performance of drag and do not include the individual performers themselves? Berkowitz and Belgrave note how, when performing drag, a stage introduces "power relationships between the queens and their audiences" (2010:177). However, when off the stage, drag performers "have little space outside performance to explicitly challenge heteronormativity and rigid gender norms," leading to potential "ridicule, harassment, or physical violence" (2010:182,170). The gender freedom (Rupp and Taylor 2003:194) that drag performers are

allowed on a stage can lead to harassment and assimilation to heteronormative ideals off the stage. I believe that the "position of power relative to the audience" (Berkowitz and Belgrave 2010:170) that performance allows on the stage is key to understanding drag's agency in regard to gender. With an audience watching, cheering, and even tipping a performance, the drag performer has interactional power in this situation, situational power that is normally not granted in society when individuals subvert gender norms. This nuances the transfeminist approach to drag by providing a contextual caveat: the stage's power dynamics allow drag performers to navigate gender and dismantle heteronormativity at the interactional level. If an individual were performing drag (by dressing in drag) out on the streets of a city, where heteronormativity holds a tighter societal grip, they would not be granted the same power and agency as in a stage performance, potentially leading to harassment. This suggests a much more contextual understanding of drag and performance that must be valued when examining the literature on drag.

In summary, drag performers, especially trans drag performers, challenge binaries of sex and gender through drag's agentic power to subvert, reinforce, and play with heteronormativity, stripping it of its social control. This being said, a much more contextual understanding is needed in this argument, as the power of the stage can thwart heteronormativity's power, though this does not happen off the stage, where drag performers are marginalized for their disruption of gender (the same trait celebrated on the stage). With drag's power to play with masculine and feminine attributes, another important topic must be discussed: hegemonic masculinity. How does hegemonic masculinity affect drag performance? Does it manifest like heteronormativity, becoming an agentic tool to expose the social construction of gender itself? Or does it still hold some power over drag, shaping understandings of what a drag performer is? This next section focuses on the relationship between hegemonic masculinity and drag to argue how the context of a drag performance minimizes the social power and dominance of hegemonic masculinity.

DRAG ATTACKING HEGEMONY

This section will argue that drag's ability to render sex and gender categories irrelevant obstructs hegemonic masculinity's power. Even though drag uses hegemonic masculine notions, they are performed not to conform to hegemonic masculinity but rather to critique the arbitrary construction of masculinity itself. In this section, I use Connell's definition of hegemonic masculinity as "the configuration of gender practice which embodies the currently accepted answer to the problem of the legitimacy of patriarchy, which guarantees…the dominant position of men and the subordination of women" (1995:77). Hegemonic masculinity is "normative" in the sense that it is "currently the most honored way of being a man" (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005:832). When it comes to drag, drag performances are able to "parody or make explicit the limits of hegemonic masculinity" (Basiliere 2019:992) by blurring any categorizations of sex and gender. As previously discussed, the sex, individual gender identity, and drag gender identity have no obligation to align, thus rejecting essentialist views of sex and gender. Because hegemonic masculinity is so intertwined with bodies and the embodiment of sex and gender (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005:851), drag can be an exception to the scrutiny of hegemonic masculinity. If the sex, individual gender identity, and drag gender identity are all different (or even not fully aligned), how do we know who has hegemonic "dominance" over whom in social situations? If a man is in female drag, does he have dominance over a female in male drag? Does a trans woman in male drag have more, less, or equal power and dominance over the person and body of a male in female drag or a male who uses both male and female drag?

This deciphering of dominance makes hegemonic masculinity's power ineffective. Because hegemonic masculinity relies so much on embodiment and instantaneous sex categorization (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005:851), its ability to be quickly enacted interactionally is nearly impossible in drag. Thus, drag curtails

hegemonic masculinity's dominative power by blurring the lines and categories of sex and gender. This being said, hegemonic masculinity is not totally absent from drag; many drag performers utilize the attributes of hegemonic masculinity in performance, "strategically drawing on tropes of dominant masculinity while simultaneously undermining those very standards" (Basiliere 2019:986). One example of this comes from the use of "comedy as a venue" in drag "to expose the limits of traditional masculine norms" (Basiliere 2019:992), such as the account of Rock Ruffergood's performance in Basiliere's research. Rock plays a dramatized and "violent masculinity" which he self-labels as a "sleazeball" (2019:994). However, Rock is performing this character not to celebrate this masculinity but to poke fun at and challenge its acceptance in society. In this, Rock borrows traits and attributes of hegemonical masculinity in order to offer a "cogent critique of traditional, patriarchal masculinity. His invitation to his audience to laugh at an archetype that might otherwise inspire fear creates a feminist space where patriarchal dominance is challenged and ridiculed" (2019:994).

Therefore, by Rock imitating hegemonic masculinity, rather than making his character an "archetype to celebrate" (Basiliere 2019:994), Rock "reveals the imitative structure of gender itself" (Butler 1990:137), a structure working to enforce hegemony, patriarchy, and heteronormativity as dominant and unchallengeable. Drag does not exist in a vacuum without hegemonic masculinity but rather uses tropes of hegemonic masculinity to critique its arbitrary nature of social dominance in lieu of conforming and adapting to such a masculine construction. In this vein, it is no wonder that Rogers finds that many Southern trans drag performers found drag "the first, and often only, place they could be themselves and express their felt gender identity safely" (2018:899). Drag provides a refuge from the dominance of hegemony, diminishing its power and construction through the use of performative critique. Thus, drag is a "performance of protest" (Rupp and Taylor 2003:202) that "is used to contest

conventional thinking about gender and sexuality" (Rupp and Taylor 2003:2), a concept discussed in the next paragraph.

I believe drag's ability to critique hegemonic masculinity and its notions of dominance generally speak to drag as an inherent form of protest. While the drag queens in Rupp and Taylor's study found an intentionality of protesting in order to promote social messages, the drag kings in Baker and Kelly's study found that protest was not an intention of performing drag but rather a discovery of individual identity (2016). Rupp et al. found a difference between drag queens and drag kings, with queens focusing more on campy entertainment while kings focused more on "serious and overtly political" acts (2010:276). This being said, I argue that, regardless of the performer's intention, protest is inherent in a drag performance through its ability to visually challenge hegemonic masculinity. On an individual level, drag performances provide a space that allows individuals to explore different gender expressions, challenging and questioning their own gender identity (Baker and Kelly 2016). On an interactional level, a drag performance questions an audience's ability to sex categorize the performers and challenges an audience to rethink gender. It is important to note how the intention of the audience can minimize the *effects* of drag's protesting power, though audience intention cannot eliminate drag's protesting power itself. Thus, visually performing drag is a protest of conventional understandings of gender, hegemonic masculinity's control and dominance, and the regulation and conforming of gender to hegemonic ideals. This allows drag to take on an even more radical and disruptive nature than previously understood.

With this all being said, drag has now more prominently entered the dominant mainstream culture, mainly with the installation of *RuPaul's Drag Race* on television (Brennan and Gudelunas 2017). Drag has become ever more popular, prominent, and commercialized (Feldman and Hakim 2020). Therefore, can drag retain its radical and disruptive nature, especially in relation to hegemonic masculinity and heteronormativity, when it enters and assimilates into mainstream

conventions and consumption? Does gender scholarship's understanding of drag fundamentally shift in nature as it becomes mainstream? This final sectional analyzes drag's current mainstream success in relation to the information I have already discussed in this paper.

MAINSTREAMING DRAG

As McCormack and Wignall claim, "the current dynamics of drag, and the shifting experiences of its performers, are absent from contemporary sociological research" (2021:2), a topic I intend to discuss in this final section of my paper. As shows like *RuPaul's Drag Race* have increasingly brought drag, drag culture, and drag performers into mainstream society, drag has become more and more "celebrified, professionalized, commercially-viable, brand oriented, and mainstream" (Feldman and Hakim 2020:386), like beauty companies increasingly using drag queens in their product merchandising (Frankel and Ha 2020). Simultaneously, drag has moved both outside of queer spaces while mainstream identities (straight, cis individuals) have moved into queer spaces. Drag brunches have become events both in and out of exclusive queer spaces, entering the mainstream (Siddons 2019). An increasingly popular phenomenon, bachelorette parties cause many straight women to enter queer spaces by coming to drag shows, a clear "stamping of heterosexual privilege over the invisibility of LGBTQ struggles in queer space" (2017). As the mainstream merges with drag culture, is anything lost that is inherent to drag? In this section, I argue that the continued commercialization of drag in mainstream culture has lessened drag's radical nature and has actually created a quasi-hegemonic drag hierarchy within drag culture itself.

Throughout time, Feldman and Hakim state that drag has had a "necessarily ambivalent relationship to capitalism," where a drag performance can "mimic its norms and articulate its aspirations while simultaneously providing a brief respite from systemic marginalization" (2020:390). However, now that drag has become both an art form and a career in mainstream and queer communities

(McCormack and Wignall 2021:13), drag has become "thoroughly imbued with the logic and mechanics of capitalism" (Feldman and Hakim 2020:397). *RuPaul's Drag Race* drag queens have fervently constructed themselves as professional and self-branded entrepreneurs, a stark difference from "the free-wheeling, anti-establishment, anti-capitalist drag that preceded *RuPaul's Drag Race*" (Feldman and Hakim 2020:396). This signals drag's shift from ambivalence to capitalism to a more fervent assimilation and participation in the capitalist structure within mainstream culture. While this is not a critique of drag performers' entrepreneurial spirit (drag performers deserve to make a living), it rather is an observation as to how drag's qualities have shifted from more subversive and radical to more mainstream and commercial. While drag still can be subversive and radical today, these facets of drag are not as stressed as before.

Thus, mainstream interaction has forced drag to engage with social entities like hegemonic masculinity more, leading to the creation of a quasi-drag hegemony (a term I created and will define later). As drag breaks into mainstream media, drag exists within gendered institutions which are institutionally structured to benefit hegemonic masculinity and maintain its power and dominance over others, especially those with other gendered expressions (Acker 1992). Though drag performance subverts and upends hegemonically masculine notions, drag's entrance into the mainstream has sedated its racial and resistive power, as assimilating to certain institutional requirements for success. Thus, "drag queens are increasingly becoming willing agents of the hegemonic power that was previously denied them" (Feldman and Hakim 2020:398) by working within the hegemonic system, challenging it yet not completely overthrowing it. In the case of *RuPaul's Drag Race*, this manifests in the show's search for "pop stardom," qualities in a drag performer that could catalyze the performer to break through successfully into mainstream culture. However, such a search for pop stardom has created a "filtering mechanism that excludes contestants who could help represent a fuller

spectrum of drag culture" (Vesey 2017:601). This is most salient in the recording industry, where contestants from *RuPaul's Drag Race* who achieved gained musical success have been limited to "white, mixed-race, and light-skinned cisbodied queens who abide by the regulations of feminine glamour" (Vesey 2017:600). By attempting to achieve success in the mainstream, what determines who will be a "successful" drag performer narrows, mainly benefitting anyone outside of a mainstream ideal of the white, cis, feminine drag queen.

Therefore, by engaging with the mainstream, drag has created its own version of hegemony that privileges the very categories and hierarchies it fundamentally was meant to subvert, resist, challenge, and upend. However, I do not believe labeling this as a "drag hegemony" aptly fits hegemony's relation to the "asymmetrical position of masculinities and femininities in a patriarchal gender order" (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005:848). A "hegemonic drag" fundamentally cannot exist due to hegemony's relation to power and domination. While certain images of drag are hierarchized above other performances, even when entering the mainstream, it does not have the power and domination within culture and society as hegemonic masculinity does. Therefore, I label this "quasi-hegemonic drag" in order to show how qualities to be successful in mainstream drag (white and feminized) have become hierarchized and dominant as well as using the term "quasi" in the concept in order to emphasize the limited power such a drag hierarchy has in the broader sense of mainstream society dominated by hegemonic masculinity.

This being said, how does the "quasi-hegemonic drag" that privileges white, feminine, and skinny attributes challenge the nature of drag itself in the modern era? I believe that the modern era of drag entering the mainstream reduces, though does not completely dismantle, drag's ability to challenge essentialist heteronormative views on gender and disrupt hegemonic masculinity's power and domination over the gender structure. By hierarchizing certain forms of drag over others, drag's ability to resist categorization and utilize multiple aspects of certain categories in performance is much more arduous. If having

"pop stardom"—and thus the ability to achieve mainstream success—is predicated on fulfilling a certain prescription of drag performance and appearance, the drag performer's ability to blend gender and utilize aspects from multiple femininities and masculinities is challenged. This not only limits the creativity of drag but lessens its agentic power to play with and challenge heteronormativity. Subverting or challenging the hierarchy of mainstream drag could mean less "pop stardom," fewer record sales, television appearances, and income. In essence, the commercialization of drag has limited its ability to explore gender performance.

Moreover, with mainstream drag working within gendered institutions controlled by hegemonically masculine notions, drag cannot fully upend hegemonic masculinity. Rather than completely challenging hegemonic masculinity, drag creates its own quasi-hegemony, adapting to the mainstream gender system that hierarchizes and labels "dominant" certain gender and gender performances. This quasi-hegemony still subverts some parts of hegemonic masculinity, mainly through its innate connection to queerness and playing with gender, but cannot completely challenge it while still having drag receive mainstream success. In essence, mainstream drag is attempting to use "the master's tools to dismantle the master's house" (Lorde 2007), working within the mainstream culture and hegemonically masculine system to challenge it by using more and more of its ideals and notions of success and subversion. As drag has become mainstream, its capacity and potential to upend many parts of the gender system remain limited, though not completely annihilated.

CONCLUSION

This paper examined three social aspects of gender in relation to drag—the relationship between drag and heteronormativity, hegemonic masculinity, and mainstream culture—to showcase drag's vast, disruptive, and potentially limited nature. Drag has the ability to resist categorization, borrowing from both heteronormativity and hegemonic masculinity, in order to upend and challenge their power,

dominance, and ubiquity in the gender structure. However, as drag has become mainstream, its focus on consumption and commercial success has limited its ability to upend and challenge such oppressive and restrictive structures. Because drag is innately political and rooted in protest (Rupp and Taylor 2003), I use this paper as a vehicle to call attention to the current situation of drag and urge drag performers, drag enthusiasts, gender scholars, and sociologists to devise methodologies and practices that allow drag to enter the mainstream in order to achieve financial success (allowing historically-marginalized queer people to receive financial security) while still maintaining the strength that drag has to "undermine conventional notions of gender and sexuality and the representation, practices, identities, and bodies that reinforce" (Rupp and Taylor 2003:220) traditional conceptions of gender, the ubiquity of heteronormativity, and the dominance of hegemonic masculinity. Because drag resists categorization, this emphasizes drag's potential to exist in mainstream culture and in its radical, subversive, and disruptive roots, borrowing from both spheres to create even further nuanced and complex understandings of gender.

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Anti-Vogue: Philosophy of Women's Fashion in *The Little Review*

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Today's fashion industry is known for its visually saturated advertising, an obsession with ever-changing trends established by a society that idolizes the rich and famous, and the promise of affordability at the expense of ethical production. Fashion itself is currently viewed as a superficial art—simply as clothing on top of the body, an explicitly surface-level matter. The perceived qualities of fashion as both an industry and an art form take historical root in the women's and fashion magazines of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Among these were *Vogue* and *Good Housekeeping*, which catered to women concerned with their dress, diet, domestic habits, and other performative aspects of womanhood. Yet, at the same time, the women who religiously read *Vogue* started to also read increasingly popular little magazines filled with short stories, opinionated articles, poetry, and fine art. In particular, these periodicals featured culturally dissonant ideas that sparked conversation surrounding topics such as capitalism, inequality, politics, and sexuality. Specifically, *The Little Review* sought to look beyond the superficial, commercialized nature of fashion and establish it in relation to philosophical conceptions of the body and self.

My paper draws upon several texts to defend this argument: I apply Ilya Parkins' fashion theory in *The Cambridge Companion to Modern Culture* and portions of Judith Butler's Theory of Performativity in "Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity" to two pieces of literature—selections from May Sinclair's *Mary Olivier*, a fictional novel published serially by Margaret Anderson in *The Little Review*, and "The New Dress," a modernist short story by Virginia Woolf. Parkins' chapter on fashion acts as a framework to understand how the themes of fashion within literature relate to a philosophical consideration of the self. Complementing Parkins' writing is Judith Butler's Theory on Performativity, which discusses the social and internal construction of gender in relation to external actions such as dress. Woolf's short story was never published in *The Little Review*, but it can be read in conjunction with May Sinclair's work to bring to light the more muted themes of fashion in *Mary Olivier*. This new

understanding of literary and philosophical approaches to fashion can be placed in the context of modern American print culture—specifically, in the hands of Margaret Anderson. As the primary editor of *The Little Review* beginning in 1914, she was fascinated by how experimental literature and avant-garde art could galvanize "inspired conversation" conducive to intellectual discourse. Anderson's commentary on fashion as it relates to the self in *The Little Review* served as an expression of rebellion against the commercialization of fashion in the women's magazines of their time.

Parkins defines fashion as a visual projection of one's identity into the world.[1] In doing so, fashion redefines the "self" by bridging three distinct dichotomies together—the first being the dichotomy between the intimate self and the collective world. In *Mary Olivier* and "The New Dress," fashion is the literary thematic avenue through which characters who feel isolated interact with their surroundings. Parkins writes that "fashion simultaneously represented 'the tendency to social equalization [and] the desire for individual differentiation and change…connect[ing] fashion's relentlessly present-oriented tempo, its changeability, to the personal sphere of the subject" (Parkins 102). Parkins uses the word "intimate" here interchangeably with "individual" and "distinct"; she also associates collectivity with conformity and society. Butler contends that the intimate and collective—or, inner and outer—worlds remain distinct only if the surface of the body achieves an "impossible impermeability."[2] As documented in literature, fashion allows the body to be permeable—for the internal and external spheres to touch.

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[1] Parkins, *The Cambridge Companion to Modernist Culture* (Cambridge University Press, 2014), p. 102. Subsequent references to *The Cambridge Companion to Modernist Culture* will be indicated by the name of the author followed by the page number(s) parenthetically in the body of the text.

[2] Butler, *Feminist Theory Reader: Local and Global Perspectives* (Routledge, 2020), p. 439. Subsequent references to *Feminist Theory Reader: Local and Global Perspectives* will be indicated by the name of the author followed by the page number(s) parenthetically in the body of the text.

Mary and Mabel, the female protagonists of *Mary Olivier* and "The New Dress," respectively, both share similar perceptions of themselves in that they feel incredibly ostracized: the precocious Mary fails to connect with her mother to the extent that her brothers do, and Mabel is overwhelmed by an unbearable self-consciousness at the party she attends because she believes her dress is unfashionable and ugly. Both Sinclair and Woolf utilize a unique stream-of-consciousness narration style to deliver the reader each protagonist's observations of how the people around them dress. It is through this style—which connects the protagonist's internal psyches with their immediate surroundings—that the intimate and collective meet. Similar to the way "fashion bring[s] together subject and world…without sacrificing the affective or personal dimension of individual life" (Parkins 102), the stream-of-consciousness preserves the narrator's unique voice as they observe fashion around them.

Mary and Mabel both feel out of place in their respective worlds and use fashion as a lens through which to view the external, but that is where their parallels end. Mary's stream-of-consciousness narration can be typified as the "omniscient child" that is simultaneously infantile and mature. She is not old enough to verbalize her thoughts succinctly, yet she already comprehends and experiences complex emotions—whether it is yearning for her mother's unrequited love or sensing judgments made by her family members towards one another in the Victorian household. *Mary Olivier* is divided into different sections like "Infancy" and "Childhood" that trace Mary's development from birth to adulthood. Parkins discusses how the fashion press and modernist literature like Sinclair's work "frequently offered a glimpse of fashion as linked to memories of days past, linking personal histories to the sweeps of epochal histories. The form was often nostalgic, not merely for a particular social world or era but for remembered personal connections and even a past self" (Parkins 102). Reading *Mary Olivier* as fashion-focused fiction illuminates the coming-of-age elements in the story that help shape Mary's evolving sense of self. As Mary develops, her intellectual and creative interests

conflict with her mother's desire for Mary to adhere to the gendered expectations for women at the time—to perform traditional femininity. This reinforces the barrier between Mary and her mother, who loves Mary's brothers more.

In direct contrast to the young but wise Mary, Mabel is a grown woman who displays an ironically childish amount of vanity. She compares her unfashionable dress with what the other women are wearing at the dinner party, an indicator that she is trapped within the social standards for women's fashion. Yet her stream-of-consciousness is internally directed: Mabel rejects compliments and awkwardly socializes with others not only because she hates her dress, but also because she is deeply embarrassed of the person she is. Her focus on external appearance, which eventually escalates to self-hatred, makes her complicit in her self-alienation. While Mary seeks validation from her mother—a part of the outside world, Mabel is ultimately unhappy with her own self. In this way, Mary and Mabel are foils of one another; their distinct stream-of-consciousness, fashion-focused narration styles emphasize these key contrasts.

Parkins also elaborates on the role fashion plays in bridging an individual's body and consciousness. The divorce between the body and the mind stems from post-Enlightenment schools of thought that promoted the modern idea of the self as "discrete, atomized, and inherently possessed of the capacity for development. The human at the center of liberal humanism was meant to have no need for other subjects in order to actualize the self" (Parkins 101). While Parkins closely equates the link between the intimate and collective with this link between the body and consciousness, the muted themes of fashion in *Mary Olivier* nestle a new understanding of the conjoined body and mind within a larger social field. Put in more concrete terms, Mary's ability to amalgamate body and mind through her observations of fashion is necessary in helping her interact with the world around her—including her traditional, cloying mother. In "From Interiority to Gender Performatives," Butler elaborates on this link between the performance of the body and the internal consciousness: "acts,

gestures, and desire produce the effect of an internal core and substance, but produce this on the surface of the body" (Butler 441). Mary's observations of other people's dress – a performative act – contributes to her awareness of their true characters. Fashion here actively acts as the hinge between physical body and personality, just as Parkins writes: "Fashionable clothing, then, also drew attention to the complex relationship between the modern body and the modern self and provided a medium through which to dramatize the relationship between self and the world beyond the self" (Parkins 101). For example, when Mary meets her new tutor, Miss Thompson, she immediately notices her "black gown made of a great many little bands of rough crape and a few smooth stretches of merino. Her crape veil, folded back over her hat, hung behind her head in a stiff square."[3] Miss Thompson's somber dress points towards her authoritarian, upright, and strict character. Mary's nurse, Jenny, wears a "black net cap with purple rosettes above her ears"—signs of both her subservient position in the household and the simple motherly comfort Mary finds in her as a caretaker (Sinclair 17.5.9).

Moreover, Mary's attention to the style of two women who are particularly important to her life aids in merging the external body with her internal consciousness. Mary idolizes Mama, who cannot come to terms with Mary's strangeness and never returns Mary's love. Yet, even with an infant's eyes, Mary is attracted to the visual details of her mother's classic dress in one scene: "She stood in the way there, all in blue, with a blue cap; She wore a wide brown silk gown with falling sleeves. 'Pretty Mamma,' said Mary. 'In a blue dress'" (Sinclair 17-18.5.9). Here, Mama is portrayed as graceful and beautiful, but also stereotypically feminine. Her clothing signals the complexity of the relationship she has with her daughter, who threatens to push the boundaries of traditional, domestic femininity. Mary's Aunt Charlotte,

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[3] Sinclair, *Mary Olivier: A Life* (The Little Review: 1919), p. 40, Vol. 6, No. 1. Subsequent references to *Mary Olivier: A Life* will be indicated by the page number(s) followed by the volume and number parenthetically in the body of the text.

who is described as "queer" by her family members, becomes an especially influential force in Mary's childhood. In one installment in *The Little Review*, the Olivier family gathers for a mourning dinner. While the other female family members wear "a grey bonnet, a grey dress, a little white shawl with a narrow fringe, drooping" (Sinclair 46.6.1), Aunt Charlotte—the wife of the deceased—is dressed in something radically different: "No black lace shawl and no crinoline. Aunt Charlotte wore a blue-and-black striped satin dress, bunched up behind, and a little hat perched on the top of her chignon and tied underneath it with blue ribbons" (Sinclair 45.6.1). She departs from the performance that is expected from her as a grieving widow and embraces something shockingly new instead. More than anything, Aunt Charlotte's clothing speaks to her literary significance: through her fashion as perceived by Mary, Aunt Charlotte symbolizes a deviation from tradition that Mary herself can relate to.

Butler identifies this deviation from dress as one that implies a deviation from the performance of her gender: "The redescription of intrapsychic processes in terms of the surface politics of the body implies a corollary redescription of gender as the disciplinary production of the figures of fantasy through the play of presence and absence on the body's surface" (Butler 440). At the end of the dinner, Aunt Charlotte secretly gifts Mary a doll. Mary had previously received books as gifts from her more conformable Aunt Bella, but "it did not interest her" (Sinclair 43.6.1). On the other hand, Mary delights in this china doll: "That night she dreamed that she saw Aunt Charlotte standing at the foot of the kitchen stairs, taking off her clothes and wrapping them in white paper; first, her black lace shawl; then her chemise" (Sinclair 50.6.1). This action explicitly connects the physical body—the dressing of a doll—to the abstract mind—a conscious defiance of the proper Victorian home. Here, Sinclair's character disrupts the division between the inner and outer worlds—"a border and boundary tenuously maintained for the purposes of social regulation and control (Butler 439)"—through unconventional fashion. By dressing the doll like Aunt Charlotte, Mary identifies with

the rebellion against performative femininity that puts her at odds with her mother—and, as an extension of that, the society around her.

Virginia Woolf's "The New Dress" emphasizes fashion's synthesis of a third dichotomy between the interiority of the self and the reinvention of the self. Parkins first expands on the anxiety surrounding fashion as presenting oneself to society in a world defined by its visual culture, even citing Woolf—who wrote about her struggles with this anxiety in her diary. Parkins writes that "the increasing importance of fashion and its intimate relevance to the self-brought with it an attendant host of concerns about how one might be read within a variety of cultural settings" (Parkins 103). The projection of oneself into the world inevitably leads to external criticism. This is the fundamental premise of Woolf's short story, which features an adult woman at a dinner party whose feelings of embarrassment over her tailored dress grow into a profound self-consciousness. On one hand, Parkins posits that the fashion press constantly reinforces the depth or interiority of a person; on the other hand, she also identifies "the distinct possibility of self-invention or reinvention, imitation, masquerade—in short, 'deceit'" (Parkins 103). The concept of using fashion to deceive is "aligned with currents in the broader modernist culture" (Parkins 103). These two modernist facets of fashion as it relates to identity are contradictory, yet the fashion industry of the time conflated the two by commodifying a form of self-expression.

It is upon this contradiction that Mabel finds herself deeply insecure about her dress: "the pale yellow, idiotically old-fashioned silk dress with its long skirt and its high sleeves and its waist and all the things that looked so charming in the fashion book, but not on her, not among all these ordinary people."[4] In this moment, she wishes to reinvent her appearance so she can be perceived as pretty and chic—evidence of Parkins' insight that clothing gave women the ability to

[4] Woolf, *The Complete Shorter Fiction of Virginia Woolf* (Harcourt Brace Janovich, 1986), p. 165. Subsequent references to *The Complete Shorter Fiction of Virginia Woolf* will be indicated by the name of the author followed by the page number(s) parenthetically in the body of the text.

control how they were interpreted in a social setting (Parkins 103). Later in the story, this insecurity spirals into a penetrating self-hatred: "Her wretched self again, no doubt! She had always been a fretful, weak, unsatisfactory mother, a wobbly wife, lolling about in a kind of twilight existence with nothing very clear or very bold or more one thing than another…" (Woolf 170). In this moment, Mabel desires to reinvent her actual self—her relationships, her disposition, her achievements, her station of life. Fashion, then, acts as the gateway through which Mabel is able to contemplate her own interiority. It is probable that Woolf wrote this short story as a critique of the overcommercialization of fashion that accelerated mass production, fetishized the new, and targeted women who already felt pressure to perform a certain kind of femininity. At the end of the story, Mabel decides to pursue personal transformation through self-help books. As she leaves the party, she wraps herself in a "cloak she had worn these twenty years" (Woolf 171). This cloak represents comfort and a return to stability; furthermore, it symbolizes Mabel's rejection of her previous obsession with appearing fashionable—and, as an extension of that, the commercialized fashion industry that sold her the lie that she had to wear the newest dress to achieve interior satisfaction. According to fashion theorist Elizabeth Wilson, while fashion acts as a kind of unifying glue for the fragmentary self, its links to capitalism and imperialism are problematic. In the introduction of her book *Adorned in Dreams*, she argues that because of its ever-growing and evolving nature, the modern fashion industry has become the child of capitalism: "Capitalism maims, kills, appropriates, lays waste. It also creates great wealth and beauty, together with a yearning for lives and opportunities that remain just beyond our reach. It manufactures dreams and images as well as things, and fashion is as much a part of the dream world of capitalism as of its economy."[5] Wilson's theory on the commercialization of fashion can then be combined with the fusion of interiority and reinvention of the self in "The New Dress"

[5] Wilson, *Fashion Theory: A Reader* (Routledge, 2007), p. 568-9.

from the perspective of a self-conscious woman, providing insight into how the fashion industry exploited its female consumers for capitalistic gain.

In publishing fiction like *Mary Olivier* serially in *The Little Review*, Margaret Anderson invited the periodical's audience to consider fashion in an unconventional way—from an intellectual angle. Anderson's ethos as editor was derived from "her boredom with a life that did not include 'inspired conversation' every minute."[6] This drive to create inspired conversation is evident in her experimentation with layout and design, as well as her decision to juxtapose pieces together to highlight controversial ideas. She also exercised creative authority in curating diverse genres of literature and international art, exhibiting a "willingness to publish everything from imagism, Ulysses, and French avant-gardism to anarchist diatribes."[7] Anderson sought intellectual discourse with the purpose of unearthing new ideas and refuting old ways of thinking, rather than sensationalizing art. Her work itself and her identity as a pioneering female editor defied "traditional assumptions about women's role in the arts—that is expectations, that women would be 'midwives to the arts' or would act as muse or nurturer for men who were 'really' making literary history" (Marek 61).

Anderson also pushed for social reform, anarchist political ideals, and freedom of speech—which resulted in the withdrawal of funding from magazine donors and even an obscenity lawsuit over the serialization of James Joyce's *Ulysses* in 1918. It is likely that Anderson published *Mary Olivier* with the intention of critiquing ideologies of the early twentieth century related to notions of modernism, womanhood, and the politics of the body. Mary is the epitome of nonconformity: as

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[6] Marek, *Women Editing Modernism* (The University Press of Kentucky, 1995), p. 60-61. Subsequent references to *Women Editing Modernism* will be indicated by the name of the author followed by the page number(s) parenthetically in the body of the text.

[7] Morrison, *The Public Face of Modernism* (The University of Wisconsin Press, 2001), p. 133. Subsequent references to *The Public Face of Modernism* will be indicated by the name of the author followed by the page number(s) parenthetically in the body of the text.

she matures and learns more about herself, she defies the gendered expectations set out for her by Mama and her adjacent community, much like Anderson defied the gendered expectations set out for her as a female editor.

Furthermore, Anderson weaponized fashion—a seemingly superficial aspect of identity—to explore the self, a much more stimulating philosophical idea. Readers of *Mary Olivier* who notice its elements of fashion are forced to confront questions about what it means to be a woman, the performance of femininity, and the significance of fashion in how it molds one's social status and self-identity. Paired with "The New Dress," *Mary Olivier*—and, as an extension of that, its publisher, Margaret Anderson—critiques post-Enlightenment humanistic norms such as the separation between body and consciousness, as well as the emerging commercialization of fashion which manifested in the plethora of enticing advertisements in magazines. These advertisements encouraged women to shop for clothing and accessories in excess, reinforcing the societal pressure for women to appear and act in a certain manner—a pressure that Mabel very clearly succumbed to in Woolf's short story. Thus, stories like *Mary Olivier* published in *The Little Review* rebelled against the mainstream.

In her analysis of fashion as it relates to the self, Ilya Parkins explains how fashion bridges three distinct dichotomies—the intimate and the social world, the body and mind, and interiority and the possibility of reinvention. Judith Butler supplements that analysis through her dissection of the relationship between the internal and performativity. The similarities in the stream-of-consciousness narration style between selections from the "Infancy" in May Sinclair's *Mary Olivier* and Virginia Woolf's "The New Dress" underscore the point at which the intimate and social meet. Mary uses her observations of fashion to connect body and mind, especially as she navigates her complicated relationship with Mama, who rejects her unconventionality. In doing so, she defies the ways in which femaleness is policed in her Victorian society. Mabel's insecurity in

"The New Dress" highlights how the fashion industry has conflated the pursuit of self-interiority and the possibility of reinvention. Anderson's decision to publish Sinclair's writing reflects the philosophy of *The Little Review*—to push their audience to reconsider ideas in a new light. In doing so, little magazines escape categorization as either a literary and art anthology or a women's magazine. Rather, it stands alone as a genre equipped to investigate questions that are not only philosophical and intellectual by nature, but also intimately involved with themes of gender, sexuality, politics, and protest. *The Little Review*'s motto, "Making No Compromise with Public Taste," is emblematic of the little magazine's spirit of defiance. Not only did Anderson make no compromise with public taste—she also made no compromise with the conventions of the women's fashion industry in her era.

The ESPN Body Issue:
An Intersectional Analysis Through Mulvey

By Maggie Borgos

Margaret Borgos is a senior double majoring in Gender Studies and English with a minor in History who grew up in Queensbury, New York. As a member of the English honors concentration program, she is developing a senior thesis exploring Althea Gibson's autobiography. Margaret is an avid runner and Nordic skier, and her love for sports fuels her passion for studying the representation of female athletes across various types of media in both domestic and international sporting landscapes. Additionally, she coaches with the Girls on the Run non-profit organization and plays in the Notre Dame Symphony Orchestra as a cellist.

Introduction

Lights, camera, action! Or, "lights, camera, pose!"? The past few years have been characterized by a surge in the media coverage of women's sports. *Just Women's Sports* and *Togethxr* emerged as two companies with an extensive social media presence. They represent exclusively women's culture and sport to counteract dominant media narratives focused on men's athletic endeavors. While the increase in the media coverage of women's sports is welcomed, questions about what type of media coverage women receive are of paramount importance. *The ESPN Body Issue* (subsequently referred to as *The Body Issue)*, first published in 2009, raises questions about the media exposure of athletes and specifically female athletes. *The Body Issue* publication requires a critical analysis by cultural scholars given the history of women's exclusion from sport and inclusion in sexualizing media campaigns.

Every year *The Body Issue* invites roughly twenty athletes to put their bodies on display by posing nude for photographers. The purpose is to demonstrate how "every 'body' tells a story" ("*The Body Issue*"). However, given that the nudity of these images is the centerpiece of the publication, this essay will explore whether *The Body Issue* publication may unintentionally reinforce "the male gaze" as defined by Laura Mulvey. Mulvey coined the phrase "the male gaze" as a way to understand the objectification and sexualization of women in the media, specifically in film studies. The photographic capture of various athletes through a camera lens relates to Mulvey's film theory, as there is a specific camera angle and orientation through which the athlete is depicted on a screen. In a review of the images, male athletes are disproportionately captured "mid-movement," for example as they hit a baseball, while female athletes are captured in still images. This difference can be referred to as performance-focused versus posed images. Later in this essay, there will be a further elaboration on the distinction between performance-focused and posed images. At first glance, the male and female athletes photographed in *The Body Issue* appear to tell different and contradictory stories about what a female

versus a male athlete looks like. The circulation of *The Body Issue* images unearths questions regarding agency and power where historically the female body has been frequently commodified and exploited. Therefore, it is crucial to engage in a close examination of the specific context in which *The Body Issue* photographs are produced, promoted, and distributed. The change over time in the contextualization of the photographs with the introduction of performance-focused images, video interviews, and textual quotes supports the idea that *The Body Issue's* campaign is working to subvert "the male gaze" by presenting female athletes as active subjects with power, agency, and autonomy.

Historical Context

The Body Issue is provocative because the athletes are photographed nude. In considering the history of women's sport in particular, in the 1920s it was scandalous for women playing tennis to show their ankles (Schultz). Beginning in the early 2000s, female athletes began posing nude for magazine publications. This transition marked a radical shift in society's perception of the female body. Concurrent with this shift is the trend of "female athletes usually [being] positioned in ways that seem vulnerable" when photographed (Heywood and Dworkin 80). This vulnerability is problematic as images of female athletes are not promoting strength in the same ways as images of male athletes. Whether or not this shift contributes to the sexualization and/or objectification of women presents a unique question for scholars. In their book *Built to Win: The Female Athlete as Cultural Icon,* Leslie Heywood and Shari Dworkin argue that "it is the context of the image, not whether there is nudity, that is important…as demonstrated in *Life* magazine in 1996…[there were] images that communicated power, self-possession, and beauty, not sexual access" (Heywood and Dworkin 80). In other words, Heywood and Dworkin suggest our critiques should center around an evaluation of the contexts in which photographers captured these nude images. Does *The Body Issue* and its contextualization convey female athletes as

having a sense of power, autonomy, and agency? Is it enough to state that "every 'body' has a story" to walk the line between sexualization and empowerment?

The creation of *The Body Issue* in 2009 came just after the initial introduction of the female athlete to the mass market. For example, "from the novelty it seemed in 1995 to its utterly mainstream status by 2001, this image of the female athlete is new. Mass-market appeal to the female athlete is new" (Heywood and Dworkin xv). Over a very short period of time, the female athlete became an "icon" who was extremely visible in popular culture. For example, "sport is such a visible aspect of popular culture, [where] sport, like other cultural forms and practices that become institutionalized, is profoundly affected by (and in turn affects) existing structures of power and inequality in those societies" (Hall 30-31). These ideas are important because there was a new connection formed between capitalist structures and the presentation of a new type of female athlete. Cultural texts representing female athletes, such as magazine publications or *The Body Issue,* are now commodified on the mass market. Hall quotes sports theorist Jennifer Hargreaves who states that "sport has become inextricably linked to both the commercialization of the female body and the commercialization of female heterosexualization" (Hall 42). *The Body Issue* reflects this commercialization of the female athlete as the display of their nude bodies is the centerpiece of the publication. At the same time, there is evidence that *The Body Issue* for many years upheld messages of "female heterosexualization" and therefore reinforced dominant norms of heterosexuality. An understanding of the historical connection between the female athlete and the mass market is crucial before moving into a discussion of *The Body Issue's* role in either perpetuating or diminishing the sexualization of female athletes in the media.

Women's sport coverage in the media has been fraught with controversy. Everyone has a different opinion about how women should be portrayed as athletes. Women's sport evolved from a private sphere of practice to a public spectacle. For example, in the late 19th

century, "women played their sports away from the prying eyes of the public. Whereas the male sports model was intentionally a very public cultural performance, women's sporting events remained largely cloistered" (Park 1594). The shift of women competing in this private sphere to a public space indicates a shift in cultural practices, but also triggered a backlash from critics who did not support women's sporting competition. Supporters of women's sport "initially published in 1975, the magazine *Women's Sport*…to help celebrate the sporting achievements of outstanding female athletes and legitimize women in sports" (Leath and Lumpkin 121). The magazine was intended to counteract critics who since the late 19th century determined women should not compete in competitive athletics. Between the years of 1975 and 1985, the magazine changed its name to *Women's Sports and Fitness* to bow to critics and place women in a recreational space. This was coupled with "the use of non-athletes on the covers, rather than athletes [in 1985]" to amplify "how coverage de-emphasizes the sporting achievements of females and is disconcerting in a publication advocating *Women's Sports and Fitness* activities" (Leath and Lumpkin 125). The history of media coverage, or lack thereof, of women's sports reflects the significance of *The Body Issue* as worthy of consideration in terms of its usefulness in promoting women's sport and strength in sport.

Furthermore, magazines and other forms of media coverage have differentiated male and female athletes by using different forms of discourse and photographic images. There is evidence suggesting that "media images of male athletes emphasized power and athletic prowess, whereas media images of female athletes were sexualized and objectified" (Varnes et al. 95). Given this history of articulations connecting male athletes to powerful subjects and female athletes to sexual objects, the critical examination of performance-focused images in *The Body Issue* allows for an examination of whether the publication is perpetuating these stereotypes. Other research from 2011 suggests that "sportswomen are significantly more likely to be portrayed in ways that emphasize their femininity and heterosexuality rather than

their athletic prowess… [there is a] focus on the athletic exploits of male athletes while offering hypersexualized images of their female counterparts" (Bruce 362). These ideas serve to reinforce that women have not been portrayed as powerful athletic subjects. *The Body Issue* offers the possibility for female athletes and the producers of *The Body Issue* to break the persisting pattern of sexualization.

Some scholars might argue that men are increasingly sexualized in their media coverage. Therefore, if men and women are "both being sexualized" there is no problem. The percentage of performance-focused images of male athletes in *The Body Issue* reflects the idea that many of them are depicted in posed images. For example, in 2017, 71% of the images of male athletes were posed images.[1] However, the reason the sexualization of female athletes continues to be of consequence and a problem requires an investigation of characteristics traditionally associated with male and female athletes. Traditionally, "varsity athletes were depicted as men who possessed those qualities which the American nation most needed: leadership; executive power; perseverance; determination; courage; virility" (Park 1584). These characteristics of leadership skills, power, and courage have always been associated with male athletes and traditional ideas of citizenship where exclusively white property-owning men held citizenship. Even while depicted in sexualized posed images, male athletes, particularly white heterosexual male athletes, occupy a position of power. Women have not been encouraged to express these characteristics, never mind expressing these characteristics through participation in sporting competitions. These ideas reflect the traditional system of beliefs women challenge as they work to assume positions of leadership and power throughout their participation in sport.

The Body Issue & Mulvey

Advancements in technology have resulted in a media landscape dominated by contradicting ideas about the female athlete and

[1] This percentage comes from *Figure 1*.

women's bodies. For example, it is "important to note that the female athletes who tend to be featured in media are those who conform to particular standards of beauty, specifically European American standards of femininity" (Daniels 88). An evaluation of *The Body Issue* demonstrates how the publication resists this singular and dominant representation of white, European, and slender beauty standards. Importantly, *The Body Issue* includes athletes of color and varying body types in their mission to represent a diverse set of beautiful athletic bodies. There are four important shifts in the marketing of *The Body Issue* which both highlight contradictory ideas about the female athlete's body and subvert dominant narratives about feminine beauty standards. First, athletes went from partially clothed in the 2009 edition to fully nude in the 2010 publication. This delineates an important shift in context concerning how athletes are posed. Second, athletes who identify as LGBTQ+ are first included in *The Body Issue's* 2014 publication with the participation of Megan Rapinoe. Her inclusion in the publication represents a transition from heterosexual, masculine, and normative representation of athletes to the inclusion of other expressions of sexuality, femininity, and non-normative representations of athletes. Third, in 2015 the number of performance-focused images of female athletes equaled those of male athletes, demonstrating a significant change in the representation of female athletes as active rather than passive participants in sports in comparison to male athletes. The acquisition of this percentage will be further explored in the following sections of this essay. Fourth, in the 2017 publication, video interviews and quotes were included in the series of photographs attached to each athlete. This signifies *The Body Issue's* evolution as a publication as they work to achieve their mission of highlighting athletes' stories through video and written textual formats.

As a feminist film theorist, Laura Mulvey offers insights about the effects of these shifts on the viewing of the female body through a camera lens. Mulvey's *Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema* essay, written in 1973, is specifically focused on understanding how women are

framed and coded in films. She argues that "cinematic codes create a gaze…[they] must be broken down before mainstream film and the pleasure it provides can be challenged" (Leitch 1965). In other words, the ways in which cinema is designed and produced places women under a gaze. This gaze presents women as passive objects rather than subjects. Furthermore, the male gaze is understood as when, "women survey themselves to determine how men would view them, or looking from the perspective of an ideal male viewer, which can result in the objectification of women" (Gillis and Jacobs 219, 447). Therefore, the male gaze not only objectifies women, but also reinforces dominant norms of heterosexuality and perpetuates the sexualization of women. These images of women "frequently cause fragmentation—the reduction of a person to a particular body part. In much of the media, cameras focus on a particular body part and neglect the whole person" (Gillis and Jacobs 220). Objectification results in fragmentation and leads to sexualization in that women are viewed as passive figures who are not subjects but are only meant to be used for visual and sexual pleasure.

Mulvey's insights about the "male gaze" are applicable in understanding the media images put forward by *The Body Issue*. Mulvey suggests we need to "transcend outworn or oppressive forms, and dare to break with normal pleasurable expectations in order to conceive a new language of desire" (Leitch 1956). The crux of her argument identifies how film framed (and continues to frame) women as objects to be looked at rather than active human subjects based on normative Western beauty standards. Mulvey articulates how we need a new way to gain "pleasure in looking" which does not result in the objectification and sexualization of women. Furthermore, Toby Miller suggests that "objectification is a fact of sexual practice within capitalism. Excoriating evaluations of women's bodies has long been the pivotal node of this process, with the implied spectator a straight male" (Heywood and Dworkin 82). There is an ingrained connection between objectification, expression of sexuality, and capitalism. For example, "related to objectification is commodification, turning

someone into or treating something or someone as an object that can be bought, sold, and traded" (Gillis and Jacobs 221). Once seen as an object, it becomes easy to commodify someone or something as there is little or no recognition of the human subject. As female athletes entered the mass market they became subject to "the male gaze" in a similar way to actresses on screen. Their bodies are watched for entertainment and oftentimes it is difficult to hear their authentic voices during their "performances," prescribed by either a written film script in the case of actresses or the rules of athletic competition in the case of female athletes. Therefore, female athletes are at risk of becoming subject to objectification, fragmentation, sexualization, and commodification.

The routineness and repetitiveness of the objectification of women's bodies in the media is unsettling. Evidence suggests that "objectification theory…holds that Western societies routinely sexually objectify the female body. Women's bodies are scrutinized as objects for the pleasure and evaluation of others, specifically males. As a result of this objectification, many girls and women focus on how their bodies *appear,* rather than what they can *do"* (Daniels 80). Mulvey's specific coining of the term "the male gaze" represents these ideas and exposes a cinematic code which articulates women as associated with passivity, as objects to be viewed for pleasure by men, and includes messaging that women should focus on their appearance. *The Body Issue* as a media publication has the opportunity to subvert "the male gaze" by presenting female athletes in ways that highlight what their bodies can *do*. The aforementioned four shifts in the marketing of *The Body Issue* demonstrate how over time *The Body Issue* changed its messaging to subvert the perpetuation of "the male gaze."

The first shift occurred between 2009 and 2010 and involved the transition from clothed in undergarments to full nudity, and in some respects, it may be seen as contradicting the goal of decreasing the number of potentially sexualized images in the media. The shift from wearing undergarments to nudity may have a few explanations. It is possible ESPN did not want to risk releasing all nude images in the

first publication for fear of a negative backlash at the beginning of their new campaign. Additionally, they may have received criticism that the undergarments undermined their mission of showcasing the whole body. It is also possible their plan from the beginning was to move towards showcasing nude athletes if the initial publication was successful in the market and supported by the included athletes.

Regardless, the change in clothing altered the positions occupied by athletes in their photographs as they positioned their bodies in particular ways to cover their genitals. For men, this only slightly changed their positioning. However, women found themselves shielding their chests from the camera. As a result, their bodies were closed off and covered in ways not seen in the photographs of male athletes. This is important because men can stand with their chests open, facing the camera; arguably occupying a power pose. In contrast, women cannot assume this position without exposing their breasts to the camera. These differences are important in understanding how space is occupied by athletes in these photographs and how women might in some respects be limited in their poses due to their bodies.

The second shift occurring in 2014 with the inclusion of Megan Rapinoe, is significant in changing attitudes about the inclusion of members of the LGBTQ+ community in sport. This is especially significant for female athletes. Historically, there were persistent fears that all female athletes were lesbians and therefore women who competed in sports were definitely lesbians and therefore "outsiders" in society. Rapinoe's inclusion in *The Body Issue* and her vocal support of all LGBTQ+ athletes is changing the landscape of inclusion in sport and supports the idea that *The Body Issue* is working to truly share that "every 'body' has a story." Abby Wambach was photographed in 2012 but did not come out until 2013; leaving Rapinoe as the first openly LGBTQ+ athlete to be photographed for *The Body Issue.* After 2014, other members of the LGBTQ+ community were included in *The Body Issue.* In 2016, Chris Mosier participated and was the first transgender athlete to be featured. Greg Louganis in 2016, Gus Kenworthy in 2017, and Adam Rippon in 2018 also participated

following Rapinoe's and Mosier's inclusion. Scholars have started to describe the greater inclusion of the LGBTQ+ community in the media. For example, "in many cases, but rapidly in others, the process of body commodification through niche targeting has identified men's bodies as objects of desire and gay men and straight women as consumers, while there are signs of targeting lesbian desire" (Heywood and Dworkin 82). Heywood and Dworkin are describing a type of disruption to "the male gaze" in mentioning the increasing objectification of LGBTQ+ bodies in the media. While a persistence in objectifying bodies is problematic, Heywood and Dworkin acknowledge that there is a new phenomenon where "the male gaze" is no longer exclusively related to heterosexuality and specifically male desire for the female body. To further complicate this shift in a specific sports context, there is historical evidence of an "obsessive need by American sport researchers in particular to explore the conflict relationship between femininity (never masculinity) and sport and to 'prove' that female athletic involvement had positive psychological benefits without producing a loss of femininity…[to alleviate] fears that she might be a lesbian" (Hall 19). In the history of women's sports, there were concerns and real fear that the increased participation of women in sport would result in an increasing number of lesbians. This perceived threat to the social order was used as an excuse for justifying the exclusion of all women from sport. The radical shift from this perspective to the inclusion of athletes such as Rapinoe in *The Body Issue* represents the progress made in the landscape of sport. The third and fourth shifts in the marketing of *The Body Issue* further disrupt normative, dominant, and historical perceptions of sport.

Breaking Down "The Male Gaze" Though Numbers

The third shift in 2015 is characterized by female athletes being displayed in an equal number of performance-focused images to those of male athletes. I argue one of the key contextual pieces differentiating photographs between sexualization and empowerment

is whether the image is performance-focused or posed. This distinction is critical and important because "performance athlete images stand in contrast to the typical media images of women which are idealized, objectified, and routinely digitally enhanced" (Daniels 87). In other words, performance-focused images highlight what female athletes can *do* and their *capabilities*, rather than how they look. Furthermore, historically magazine covers frequently pictured "female athletes on the covers shown posed, rather than displaying their athletic prowess, black athletes seldom could expect to be featured or pictured, and playing aggressive team sports would not lead to as much magazine coverage as would participating in the traditional sex-appropriate sports" (Leath and Lumpkin 125). In other words, there is a persisting history where female athletes have not been represented by their *capabilities,* athletes of color have been excluded from mediums of representation, and sports characterized by aggression or roughness were supposedly designated for male athletes, while female athletes were expected to participate in "gentle" or "less physical" forms of sport if they "had to compete". To track the number of performance-focused images in *The Body Issue,* a taxonomy was designed specifically for this project. The statistics acquired from this taxonomy demonstrate how *The Body Issue* subverts these historical trends by increasingly showing performance-focused images over posed images of female athletes, featuring Black athletes and athletes of color, and featuring women competing in aggressive team sports or individual sports as shown in the U.S. women's hockey and the U.S. women's water polo team photos ("*The Body Issue*").

The taxonomy designed for this project evaluates the number of performance-focused images versus posed images for female athletes and male athletes from 2009 to 2019. The methodology for categorizing the photos in *The Body Issue* is as follows. First, the total number of galleries per year since 2009 ranges from 15 to 28 galleries including both men and women. A binary gender and sex evaluation of these galleries is invoked due to the current institution of sport recognizing exclusively women's and men's sports. The representation

of women in these galleries across each year ranges from 41% to 52%. Each year was investigated to determine whether there was a disproportionate number of female athletes in posed versus performance-focused images as compared to male athletes. For each athlete in each year, the number of images in an athlete's specific gallery ranges from 1 to 11 photographs. The photographs were then separated into performance-focused images or posed images. If an athlete assumed a form where they could be in the middle of competition or training, the photograph was considered performance-focused. If an athlete could not be matched with their sport based solely on looking at the image, then the image was categorized as posed. The following chart delineates the culmination of statistics over a ten-year period.

Year	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019
Women	14%	32%	36%	41%	21%	51%	46%	68%	64%	39%	48%
Men	25%	42%	52%	56%	49%	65%	46%	46%	29%	54%	48%

Figure 1: Percent of performance-focused Images by Year in *The ESPN Body Issue*

For the purposes of this essay, all photographs were sorted exclusively into two categories, performance-focused or posed. A broader project would allow for a discussion of images that walk the line between a performance-focused and a posed image. One of the key differentiating methods for the contextualization of the images included whether an athlete appeared "mid-movement" in relation to their sport and/or whether the image reflected a picture of an athlete as if they were "mid-game" or "mid-competition." A limitation of this method is the single evaluator categorizing these photos. As the only researcher working on this specific project, I was required to make subjective judgements about the categorization of the photos. Further collaborative studies might illuminate different results about which photos are performance-focused images and which photos are posed images.

Despite these limitations, from 2009 to 2019 there is evidence of a shift in women's percentage of performance-focused images. In 2009, only 14% of all the photographs taken of female athletes were performance-focused. Therefore, 86% of their photographs were posed images. However, 25% of all the photographs taken of male athletes were performance-focused. Therefore, 75% of their photographs were posed images. These percentage differences highlight how women were disproportionately captured in posed photographs in comparison to men. By 2019, the percentages suggest that 48% of the photographs taken of both female athletes and male athletes were performance-focused. This shift suggests that *The Body Issue* may have recognized over ten years the discrepancies in the display of women and men.

An analysis of *microaggressions* directed towards women in sport is helpful in further expanding upon why the distinction between performance-focused and posed images is relevant and important. Microaggressions are defined as "brief and commonplace daily verbal, behavioral, or environmental indignities, whether intentional or unintentional, that communicate hostile, derogatory, or negative slights and insults" (Gillis and Jacobs 114). Arguably, the creation of "the male gaze" through camera angles and positioning is a subtle way in which women are objectified. Therefore, the continued portrayal of female athletes in *The Body Issue* as posed images can be viewed as a *microaggression* where there is either an intentional or unintentional slight directed towards women about their *capabilities* as athletes. The term "*microaggression* was first coined by Pierce (1970) to describe subtle forms of racism and has since been expanded to include gender, sexual orientation, and other marginalized groups" (Kaskan and Ho 276). The evolution of the term to include broader groups of people underscores the significance and power of *microaggressions*. While very real, they can go undetected and their subtleties make them difficult to address in mainstream cultural texts. Research suggests that "race based microaggressions in general contain a variety of different themes including denials of racial experiences, assumptions regarding

intelligence or criminality, assumptions of foreign nationality, and implications of second class [citizenship]" (Kaskan and Ho 284). This description suggests that theories of essentialism are critical in understanding the origins of *microaggressions.* In other words, the idea that a person is "inherently" embodying particular characteristics due to their racial, gender, sex, or class identity. In invoking an intersectional lens, female athletes of color specifically face *microaggressions* due to their intersecting gender, race, class, sex, and ethnic identities. For example, "Racial prejudice and stereotypes may produce more potent examples for women of color and perhaps especially for women of color who happen to be athletes. Tennis star Serena Williams has been portrayed in the media as *animalistic,* connoting that, as a Black person, Williams was less human than a White woman" (Kaskan and Ho 284). The specific example of describing Williams as *animalistic* and therefore "less human" because she is Black demonstrates the extreme danger of essentialist ideologies. Calling her *animalistic* is a *microaggression* based on essentialist viewpoints about race. These textual descriptions and representations of women and women of color need to change.

It is worth noting the year 2014, which marks when over 50% of female athletes in *The Body Issue* were positioned in performance-focused images and 2015, which marks when women and men were represented equally in performance-focused images with both men and women having 46% of their photographs being performance-based. The changes in percentages are important in that there is a radical shift between 2009 when14% of the images of female athletes were performance-focused, to 2014 with 51%, to 2015 with 46%, and eventually 2016 with 68%. It is difficult to believe this change was unintentional given the statistical variation and change over time. Returning to the aforementioned third shift, in 2015, the number of performance-focused images of female athletes equaled those of male athletes. In reconsidering power and leadership as connected to articulations of athleticism, muscularity, and masculinity, the equalization and surpassing of performance-focused images of female

athletes over male athletes creates a new articulation and disrupts the persistence of implicit *microaggressions*. This articulation is characterized by athleticism, muscularity, and femininity.

The fourth and final shift takes place in the 2017 publication. For the first time, *The Body Issue* used different forms of digital media including images, embedded textual quotes, and videos to convince their audience of their mission of sharing the stories of athletes' bodies. This form of digital rhetoric connects audiences to the athletes in a personal way as their voices are shared and delivered directly to the audience. The athletes are the ones convincing us of why they chose *The Body Issue*, rather than *The Body Issue* trying to convince us why they chose the athlete. The athletes are active contributors to the campaign. While the athletes who came before the shift in 2017 were no doubt vocal about their decisions to participate in *The Body Issue,* the new inclusion of different forms of digital media into the specific galleries of athletes changes the audience's initial perception of the images without further investigation on behalf of the viewer. The information is arranged to be easily accessible as to why the athletes' 'bodies' have a story. The change over time in the contextualization of the photographs supports the argument that *The Body Issue* is shifting their campaign to display powerful images of female athletes who are driving the production process and construction of their 'image' in the media.

Dunn, Coburn, Williams, Cambage, & Bassett:

The following photos are examples of five female athletes who participated in *The Body Issue* campaign. Crystal Dunn is a soccer player for the United States' women's national team, Emma Coburn competes on the track in the steeplechase, Serena Williams is a world-renowned tennis player, Liz Cambage is an Australian basketball player who now competes in the WNBA, and Scout Bassett is a sprinter and long jumper Paralympic athlete.

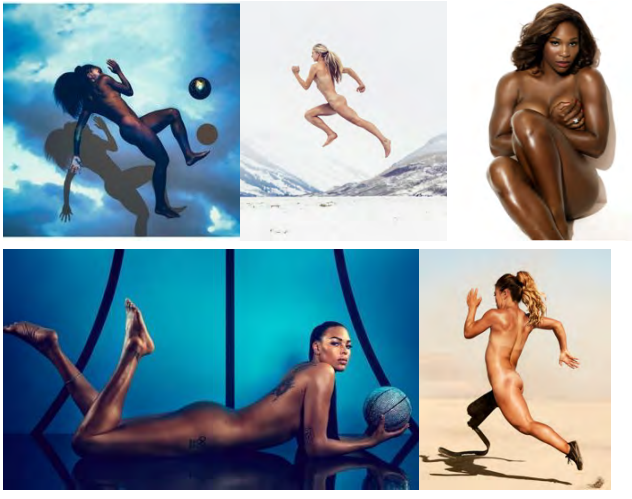

Figure 2: Pictured from Left to Right, Row 1: Crystal Dunn (Soccer), Emma Coburn (Steeplechase), Serena Williams (Tennis);
Row 2: Liz Cambage (Basketball), and Scout Bassett (Sprinter and Long Jumper). ("*The Body Issue*")

The inclusion of these photos side by side for this project is important in order to visually demonstrate the types of photos in *The Body Issue*. Included in these five images are performance-focused and posed images. Dunn, Coburn, and Bassett are displayed in performance-focused images. Dunn is in the air about to kick a soccer ball. She would potentially assume this form in a soccer game while performing a bicycle kick. Coburn is striding through mid-air as if leaping over a steeple barrier on the track. Bassett is also mid-stride, sprinting across the sandy ground. In contrast, Williams and Cambage are displayed in posed images. Williams is seated in a closed-off position with her arms and her legs pulled in tightly to her body. This is not a position Williams would assume if playing tennis on the court. Cambage is stretched out on the floor of what appears to resemble a basketball court. Her legs are stretched out behind her with her feet suspended in the air. In a similar way to Williams' photo, she would not assume this position in the middle of a basketball game. The distinctions between the performance-focused and posed images are significant to consider in asking questions of whether these are images

of empowerment and/or sexualization. Arguably, the posed images do not represent Williams' and Cambage's capabilities as athletes. Both women are extremely talented and leaders in their respective sports. However, in these images, they are shown as passive, rather than active subjects. While posing in and of itself is not harmful, Heywood and Dworkin offer the idea that "images can do negative and affirmative cultural work simultaneously…market conditions can be oppressive to some, empowering to others, and offer the potential to do progressive and regressive cultural work, sometimes simultaneously" (Heywood and Dworkin 11). In other words, images can promote contradictory messages. In a capitalist market, these messages mean different things to different people. Images functioning as cultural texts can perpetuate stereotypes or reclaim negative language. In the context of *The Body Issue,* posed images can do both "negative and affirmative cultural work" in the sense that historically women have been sexualized through passive images by "the male gaze." Concurrently, feminist activists are working to reclaim ownership of cultural texts by celebrating the female's body and sexuality.

The inclusion of the female athlete's voices in the discussion is crucial when understanding how these cultural texts are subverting "the male gaze" and sending messages of empowerment. In her interview with ESPN, Crystal Dunn states that "I accept who I am. I am not the biggest, but that doesn't mean I can't be the quickest or the smartest and find other ways of being successful…I am really proud of being a diverse player and using my body in so many different ways on the pitch" (Roenigk). Dunn is celebrating her body and her accomplishments through her participation in *The Body Issue.* Liz Cambage in her interview states that "normal is boring and it's about time we start doing things differently for the outliers…I speak about diversity for these younger girls so they have someone to look up to. They can chase their dreams and live the life that they really want to" (Shelburne). Cambage is promoting messages of confidence while encouraging the next generation to live their dreams. This specific contextualization of the images represents how these female athletes

are not passive, but active contributors to their narratives. Bassett highlights in her gallery how "running helped [her] become a confident, strong, powerful woman who would not take no for an answer…I want to show that you can have scars and still be beautiful and powerful and strong" (Keown). Bassett, who as a Paralympic athlete faced struggles unique to her identity, discussed how she struggled with her scars. Her decision to participate in *The Body Issue* allowed her to reclaim strength and beauty while looking to inspire others struggling with their own scars.

Edelman, Barkley, Howard, Wade, & Hall:

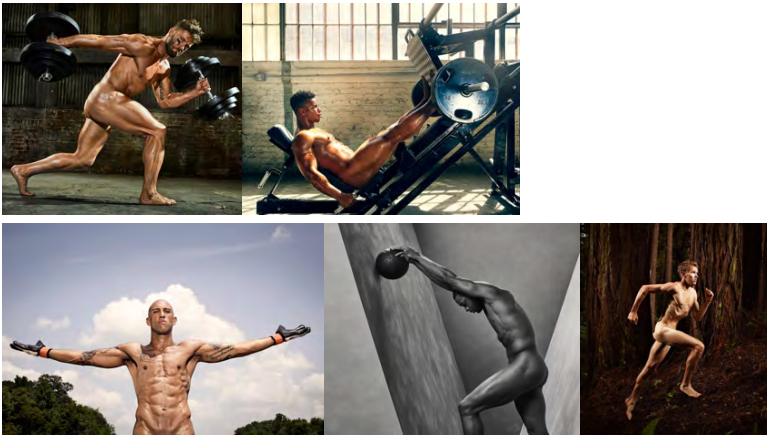

Figure 3: Pictured from Left to Right, Row 1: Julian Edelman (Football), Saquon Barkley (Football); Row 2: Tim Howard (Soccer), Dwayne Wade (Basketball), and Ryan Hall (Long-Distance Runner and Track athlete). ("*The Body Issue*")

The focus of this essay remains on the representation of female athletes in *The Body Issue.* However, the inclusion of a panel of photographs featuring male athletes provides a point of comparison between male and female athletes. The following photos are examples of five male athletes who participated in *The Body Issue* campaign. Julian Edelman and Saquon Barkley are NFL football players. Tim Howard is a soccer player and goalkeeper for the United States' men's national team. Dwayne Wade is a basketball player in the NBA and Ryan Hall

is an American long-distance runner and track athlete. Edelman, Barkley, and Hall are displayed in performance-focused images. Howard and Wade are displayed in posed images. There are two significant differences between the male athlete's photographs and the female athlete's photographs. First, there are images of the male athletes where they are lifting weights; few images exist with female athletes lifting throughout *The Body Issue*. Second, the male athletes are shown with their chests open to the camera and therefore are occupying various power poses unlike those displayed by the female athletes for reasons previously discussed.

The presence and absence of weights in the images signifies a type of power present in the male athlete which is not present in the female athletes; even though all these female athletes lift weights. There are examples of Scout Bassett and Katrin Davidsdottir lifting weights.

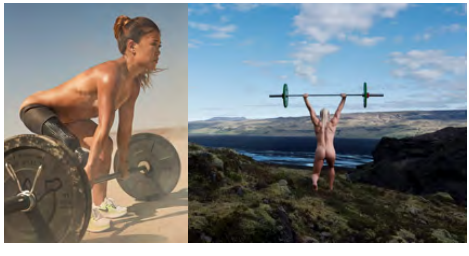

Figure 4: Pictured from Left to Right; Scout Bassett (Sprinter and Long Jumper) and Katrin Davidsdottir (CrossFit). ("*The Body Issue*")

However, we only see the picture of Bassett with the weight on the ground while Davidsdottir's image of weightlifting is taken from a distance. The male athletes in contrast are actively holding and using their weights while the camera angle is closely focused on their bodies. Further research on the role of weights in these images needs to be conducted to understand how powerlifting manifests itself across male and female athletics. It is important to note that these images of Bassett and Davidsdottir lifting were taken in the most recent year of *The Body Issue*. This is important because female athletes were not

shown lifting in the earlier years of the publication. The inclusion of these images represents a shift in the representation of female athletes as capable of lifting weights.

Finally, one of the largest differences in these images is the inability of female athletes to expose their chests to the camera. As previously discussed, this makes it exceptionally difficult for female athletes to assume the type of power pose occupied by Tim Howard while participating in a nude publication. Furthermore, Howard's photograph demonstrates how the male body occupies space. Historically, women have been encouraged and forced to take up less space. For example, while the female athletes do take up space, there is a difference in the way Howard poses and the way in which Cambage poses as we see only one side of her body. A further investigation is required to illuminate how strength is displayed and space is occupied.

Stepping Back:

Legendary University of Notre Dame basketball coach Muffet McGraw offers a perspective on women in the modern sporting landscape. In her book, *Expect More! Dare to Stand Up and Stand Out,* she outlines her experiences as a female basketball coach in an era where women were not expected to coach. Her contributions to women's sport cannot be overlooked as she coached national championship teams and fostered the development of hundreds of female athletes. McGraw's book encourages women to "dare to stand up and stand out" (McGraw). However, to a certain extent, I would argue women have always "stood out" as they defied traditional gender norms relating to sport. Furthermore, I would argue that simultaneously the media contributed to and is contributing to women "standing out" for potentially the wrong reasons. *The ESPN Body Issue* allows for an exploration of how female athletes are being portrayed in the media as they are featured alongside male athletes, depicted in performance-focused and posed images, and captured in nude photographs by photographers.

Depicting female athletes as having power through positive media coverage is crucial due to the widespread consumption of media with advances in technology. Widespread practices of sexual objectification are dangerous in that they affect all girls and women. The practice of "sexual objectification acts to socialize girls and women to believe their value is dependent on their appearance, thereby teaching them to treat themselves as objects on display, or to *self*-objectify" (Varnes et al. 96). If women and girls see the media sexualizing celebrity female athletes, what is to prevent this population from self-objectifying? This is important as a public health concern because "the media's portraying of feminine beauty contributes significantly to psychological consequences, such as body shame, and mental and physical health risks, such as eating disorders" (Varnes et al. 106). Increasing the media coverage of women's sport is crucial. At the same time, the content of this media coverage must be critically evaluated to ensure that articulations of women in sport emphasize female athletes' abilities to be leaders with agency and power. The celebrity status of these athletes arguably makes them role models for other women and girls. Therefore, the depiction of these athletes as leaders is crucial in subverting traditional gender norms of "female as follower," rather than leaders in public spaces.

The history of female athletes not being depicted in performance-focused images is pervasive across gender, race, ethnicity, (dis)ability, and class. *The Body Issue* intentionally includes Black athletes and athletes of color, Paralympic athletes, members of the LGBTQ+ community, women who are above the age of 50, and women competing in aggressive team sports. *The Body Issue* increases the representation of marginalized groups and communities through the inclusion of a diverse array of athletes. There is no doubt that in analyzing the inclusion of women in sport, "gender identity has been privileged over race, ethnicity, sexuality, age, class, or sporting ableness" (Bruce 363). In other words, scholars have focused on gender inequalities in sport while failing to use an intersectional lens to understand how race, class, sex, age, and (dis)ability have also limited

women's ability to enter sports. *The Body Issue* addresses these inequities and privileging of gender equality by promoting all women in sport. The display of women from all different backgrounds who are occupying different identities is part of a new narrative stating that all women and girls can be strong beautiful leaders with power as they compete in sport. Rather than the media signaling that various aspects of an athlete's identity, such as gender or racial identity, make them "unfit" to compete, *The Body Issue* contributes to promoting messages of social justice and inclusion through the media coverage and representation of diverse athletes by connecting athlete's bodies with their stories.

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The Intersection on Stolen Land: Critical Engagements Between Intersectionality and Indigenous Resurgence

By Duncan Donahue

Duncan Donahue is a senior studying Sociology and Peace Studies senior from South Bend, Indiana and Midland, Michigan. Their capstone is the culmination of their interest in colonialism, environmentalism, the relationship between systems of power, and critical social theory. In their time at Notre Dame, Duncan has coordinated the South Bend chapter of the Sunrise Movement, founded Notre Dame's first undergraduate socialist club, and helped organize the Student Strike for Black Lives. After graduation, Duncan will begin work as an environmental organizer with Clean Water Action in Ann Arbor, Michigan.

I. Introduction

Over the last three decades, the term intersectionality has traveled rapidly through activist circles and come to prominence in academic research, teaching, and administration.[37] During this process, intersectionality has acquired a heterogeneous collection of meanings, applications, and implications.[38] While this flexibility has been a strength of intersectionality, allowing it to dynamically adapt to meet the needs of scholars and practitioners around the world, it also creates a vulnerability to formulations of intersectionality that reinforce the same systems which intersectionality was developed to combat.[39] Over the last ten years, several critiques of intersectionality have emerged which question the "obliteration of intersectionality's radical beginnings, the stretching of intersectionality so that it becomes a 'catch-all' feminist theory that can be used by all feminists, and the sanitizing of intersectionality by liberal feminism."[40] Patricia Hill Collins warned that "without serious self-reflection, intersectionality could easily become just another social theory that implicitly upholds the status quo," joining the "arsenal of projects whose progressive and radical potential has waned."[41] In the interest of combatting the neutralization of intersectional thought and practice, this paper reflects on intersectionality in light of another body of knowledge: Indigenous resurgence. As a student-practitioner of intersectionality, I ask: what tensions and possibilities for the improvement of intersectionality emerge from an engagement with Indigenous resurgence? Further, how might this engagement create opportunities for reflexive critiques of intersectionality as a critical social theory in progress without

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[37] Patricia Hill Collins, *Intersectionality as Critical Social Theory* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2019), 3.
[38] Patricia Hill Collins, "Intersectionality's Definitional Dilemmas," *Annual Review of Sociology* 41, no. 1 (2015): pp. 1-20, https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-soc-073014-112142.
[39] Collins, *Intersectionality as Critical Social Theory*, 2.
[40] Sara Salem, "Intersectionality and Its Discontents: Intersectionality as Traveling Theory," *European Journal of Women's Studies* 25, no. 4 (2016): pp. 403-418, https://doi.org/10.1177/1350506816643999, 404.
[41] Collins, *Intersectionality as Critical Social Theory*, 2, 3.

recreating colonial logics in the process? I answer these questions by pursuing three related, though independent, lines of critical reflexive engagement with Indigenous resurgence aimed at informing intersectional thought. From these three engagements, I draw out seven theses for the development of intersectionality into a "critical social theory" at the "sweet spot between critical analysis and social action."[42]

I preface my analysis with a discussion of my positionality as a researcher. I then loosely summarize the histories and core tenets of both intersectionality and Indigenous resurgence and contextualize the importance of bringing the two together in analysis. In the first section of my research, I analyze the potential colonial pitfalls of placing intersectionality in dialogue with Indigenous resurgence. I argue that such an engagement cannot attempt to incorporate resurgence or set it as an object of deconstruction but rather must relate to Indigenous resurgence as an intellectually sovereign political movement that challenges common assumptions within intersectional analysis. Next, I focus on the concept of "grounded normativity"[43] as articulated by Glen Coulthard and Leanne Betasamosake Simpson as it relates to intersectional approaches to place and cosmological difference. I argue that intersectionality should develop an increased understanding of the varying, but always present, roles of place within a "matrix" understanding of power relations. I also argue that practitioners of intersectionality must adopt an understanding of the particular and situated nature of intersectionality's cosmological foundations while also creating space for a multiplicity of cosmologies within intersectional analysis. Then, I reflect on the implications of Eve Tuck and K. Wayne Yang's discussion of decolonization as guided by "an

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[42] Collins, *Intersectionality as Critical Social Theory*, 3.
[43] Glen Sean Coulthard, *Red Skin, White Masks: Rejecting the Colonial Politics of Recognition* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2014); Leanne Betasamosake Simpson, *As We Have Always Done: Indigenous Freedom through Radical Resistance* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2017).

ethic of incommensurability"[44] for an understanding of intersectionality that sees the intersectional analysis of identity as inherently "coalitional" as the bedrock for a coalescence of identity struggles. I argue that this application of intersectionality fails to account for the unsettling material claims of decolonization and unintentionally papers over settler colonial dispossession. Lastly, I synthesize these points of dialogue to outline points of critical self-reflection for practitioners of intersectionality and gesture toward further lines of engagement.

Positionality

I write as a settler who was raised on the lands of the Saginaw, Black River, Swan Creek bands of Ojibway people and who currently resides and studies on the lands of the Nishnabe (or Potawatomi). I aim to engage with Indigenous resurgence thought and practice in order to challenge certain applications and assumptions within intersectional analysis and practice. In both my academic and movement-building pursuits, intersectionality has become indispensable as a powerful (if often under-defined) metaphor, heuristic, and paradigm. This engagement is meant to generate possibilities for further inroads for decolonial analysis and praxis within intersectionality rather than offer a new analysis of Indigenous resurgence itself or further to prescribe changes in Indigenous resurgence. My research is not an instance of resurgence by any means. I do not pretend to adopt a detached zero-point of analysis, but rather locate myself as a student-practitioner of intersectionality. My overarching concern is to look to practitioners of Indigenous resurgence in order to undertake critical self-reflection as a student of intersectionality.

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[44] Eve Tuck and K. Wayne Yang, "Decolonization Is Not a Metaphor," *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society* 1, no. 1 (2012): pp. 1-40. 2

II. Background

Intersectionality

Defining both the history and meaning of intersectionality is a task fraught with difficulties. Although the term is increasingly in vogue in the academy, feminist spaces, and other social justice initiatives, it remains notoriously difficult to define.[45] Similarly, the telling of intersectionality's history remains contentious and often relies too heavily on narratives of individual academics with strokes of inspiration.[46] The term "intersectionality" was indeed first used by Kimberlé Crenshaw's 1989 article "Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex."[47] However, accounts of intersectionality that begin with Crenshaw's publication in the *University of Chicago Legal Forum* unwittingly obscure the deep roots of intersectionality's content outside of the academy in social movements and reproduce understandings of intersectionality as a primarily academic pursuit.[48]

Heeding the call to look further than "Demarginalizing the Intersection," the themes and ideas behind intersectionality have firm roots in North American Black feminist thought tracing back to the 19th century.[49] Analyses and social action that identify and combat racism and sexism not "as separate categories impacting identity and oppression, but also as systems of oppression that work together [and] mutually reinforce one another" can be found in the work of such figures as Maria W. Stewart, Sojourner Truth, Anna Julia Cooper, Ida B. Wells, Elise Johnson McDougald, and Sadie Tanner Mosell

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[45] Patricia Hill Collins, "Intersectionality's Definitional Dilemmas," *Annual Review of Sociology* 41, no. 1 (2015): pp. 1-20, https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-soc-073014-112142.

[46] Patricia Hill Collins and Sirma Bilge, *Intersectionality* (Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 2016), 64.

[47] Kimberlé Crenshaw, "Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory, and Antiracist Politics," *University of Chicago Legal Forum* 1989, no. 1 (1989): pp. 139-167.

[48] Collins and Bilge, *Intersectionality,* 64, 81.

[49] Anna Carastathis, *Intersectionality: Origins, Contestations, Horizons* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2016), 15.

Alexander.[50] The decades of the 1960s and 1970s were foundational in the development of what we now call intersectionality as Black women and other women of color experienced sexism and homophobia within many of the era's revolutionary movements.[51] In "A Black Feminist Statement," which would come to "permeate black feminist politics for years to come,"[52] Combahee River Collective wrote: "We are actively committed to struggling against racial, sexual, heterosexual, and class oppression, and see as our particular task the development of integrated analysis and practice based upon the fact that the major systems of oppression are interlocking."[53] This metaphor of "interlocking" systems of oppression began to enter into the academy rather than operate from outside as part of the incorporation of "race/class/gender" studies in the 80s.[54] Crenshaw's use of the term intersectionality to capture these long-standing themes provided a captivating metaphor for understanding the relationship between race and gender that allowed intersectionality to spread rapidly through the academy as well as practitioners.[55]

Since it emerged from Black feminist thought, intersectionality has been further shaped through its engagements between and across "Critical Theory, British cultural studies, liberation theory, existentialism, Marxism, poststructuralism" and other fields.[56] As a result of this diffusion and evolution, it has become increasingly difficult to give a descriptive definition.[57] For this reason, I rely heavily

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[50] Kathryn T Gines, "Race Women, Race Men and Early Expressions of Proto-Intersectionality, 1830s–1930s," in *Why Race and Gender Still Matter: An Intersectional Approach*, ed. Namita Goswami, Maeve M O'Donovan, and Lisa Yount (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2014), 25.
[51] Collins and Bilge, *Intersectionality,* 65.
[52] Collins and Bilge, *Intersectionality*, 67.
[53] Combahee River Collective, "A Black Feminist Statement (1977)," in *Words of Fire: An Anthology of African-American Feminist Thought*, ed. Beverly Guy-Sheftall (New York: The New Press, 1995).
[54] Collins and Bilge, *Intersectionality*, 79.
[55] Collins, *Intersectionality as Critical Social Theory*, 28-29; Collins and Bilge, *Intersectionality*, 83-6.
[56] Collins, *Intersectionality as Critical Social Theory*, 88.
[57] Collins, "Intersectionality's Definitional Dilemmas."

on Patricia Hill Collins and Sirma Bilge's widely-cited work that analyzes the breadth of both intersectional scholarship and practice to find the common contours of contemporary intersectionality. In *Intersectionality*, Patricia Hill Collins and Sirma Bilge describe how, despite "tremendous heterogeneity," there exists a general consensus that "intersectionality is a way of understanding and analyzing the complexity in the world, in people, and in human experiences" which emphasizes how "people's lives and the organization of power in a given society are better understood as being shaped not by a single axis of social division, be it race or gender or class, but by many axes that work together and influence each other."[58] They outline six core ideas "appear and reappear" in intersectionality analysis and practice: "inequality, relationality, power, social context, complexity, and social justice."[59]

First, intersectional analysis is concerned with understanding *social inequality* as complex, "recognizing that social inequality is rarely caused by a single factor."[60] Second, intersectional analyses understand power relations as *mutually constructed*, meaning that sexism and racism, for example, do not simply interact as separately formed entities, but gain their meaning in relation to one another.[61] Power within intersectional analysis is also understood across various *domains of power*, incorporating how power functions interpersonally, disciplinarily, culturally, and structurally.[62] Collins and Bilge also stress the importance of *relationality* to intersectional analysis, shifting from "analyzing what distinguishes entities, for example, race and gender, to examining their interconnections."[63] An intersectional analysis must ground itself in the fact that social inequality and power relations do not occur in a vacuum but rather in a particular *social context* which is

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[58] Collins and Bilge, *Intersectionality*, 2.
[59] Collins and Bilge, *Intersectionality*, 25
[60] Collins and Bilge, *Intersectionality*, 26.
[61] Collins and Bilge, *Intersectionality*, 26-27.
[62] Collins and Bilge, *Intersectionality*, 27.
[63] Collins and Bilge, *Intersectionality*, 27.

necessary to fully understand the dynamics at play in a situation.[64] Further, intersectionality as a framework incorporates social inequality, power relations, their relationality, and their social context with an understanding of the inherent *complexity* of the relationships between these factors.[65] The last core idea that Collins and Bilge identify is *social justice*, which reflects how intersectional analyses are geared toward criticism of the status quo in favor of a more just society.[66]

Collins builds upon this descriptive framework in her later monograph, *Intersectionality as Critical Social Theory*, by outlining four guiding premises of intersectional thought:

> These guiding premises synthesize the assumptions that intersectionality's practitioners take into their projects in order to guide their work: (1) Race, class, gender, and similar systems of power are interdependent and mutually construct one another. (2) Intersecting power relations produce complex, interdependent social inequalities of race, class, gender, sexuality, nationality, ethnicity, ability, and age. (3) The social location of individuals and groups within intersecting power relations shapes their experiences within and perspectives on the social world. (4) Solving social problems within a given local, regional, national, or global context requires intersectional analyses.[67]

The fourth guiding premise, that solving social problems within a particular context requires intersectional analysis, points toward intersectionality's praxiological content. Due to its roots in Black feminist projects of resistance, intersectionality has always been intrinsically normative, its insights and analysis directed toward combatting intersecting systems of power rather than simply understanding them. Throughout intersectionality's diffusion in the academy, its critical praxis has faced resistance from researchers who see it as compromising ostensibly objective research practices.[68]

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[64] Collins and Bilge, *Intersectionality*, 28-29.
[65] Collins and Bilge, *Intersectionality*, 29.
[66] Collins and Bilge, *Intersectionality*, 30.
[67] Collins, *Intersectionality as Critical Social Theory*, 48.
[68] Ange-Marie Hancock, "When Multiplication Doesn't Equal Quick Addition: Examining Intersectionality as a Research Paradigm," *Perspectives on*

Various practitioners have raised concerns that the increasing adoption of intersectionality within the academy and liberal feminism is creating depoliticized forms of intersectionality, in which "the founding conceptions of intersectionality—as an analytical lens and political tool for fostering a radical social justice agenda— …become diluted, disciplined, and disarticulated."[69] However, Collins and Bilge argue that holding tension between critical praxis and critical inquiry is indispensably productive for intersectionality both as an analytic and practical tool.[70] A large component of intersectionality's praxis is associated with both identity politics and coalition-building,[71] which I will engage in the fifth section.

Indigenous Resurgence

Indigenous resurgence describes both a particular paradigm of Indigenous political thought as well as political action which has come to increasing prominence in Canada and to a lesser extent in the United States over the last decade and a half.[72] The term is most commonly associated with Taiaiake Alfred, Jeff Corntassel, Leanne Betasamosake Simpson, Glen Coulthard, Eve Tuck, and K. Wayne Yang among others. These figures share a similar rejection pathway of recognition or reconciliation within liberal settler states and instead

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Politics 5, no. 01 (2007): 66; Vivian M. May, *Pursuing Intersectionality, Unsettling Dominant Imaginaries* (New York: Routledge, 2015), 145.

[69] Sirma Bilge, "Intersectionality Undone," *Du Bois Review: Social Science Research on Race* 10, no. 2 (2013): pp. 405-424, https://doi.org/10.1017/s1742058x13000283, 407.

[70] Collins and Bilge, *Intersectionality*, 191-2

[71] Kimberle Crenshaw, "Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Color," *Stanford Law Review* 43, no. 6 (1991): 1299; Carastathis, *Intersectionality: Origins, Contestations, Horizons*, 183-195; Collins and Bilge, *Intersectionality*, 133-35.

[72] Taiaiake Alfred and Jeff Corntassel, "Being Indigenous: Resurgences against Contemporary Colonialism," *Government and Opposition* 40, no. 4 (2005): pp. 597-614; Simpson, *As We Have Always Done*; Coulthard, *Red Skin, White Masks*; Michael Elliott, "Indigenous Resurgence: The Drive for Renewed Engagement and Reciprocity in the Turn Away from the State," *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 51, no. 1 (2017): pp. 61-81.

advocate for the rejuvenation of Indigenous cultural practices and sovereignty tied to land.[73] Of course, these figures also differ in many ways and approach resurgence from varied positions, but this central commitment runs throughout resurgence. Many though not all Indigenous resurgence thinkers also draw heavily on Franz Fanon.[74] To provide a general background of Indigenous resurgence for my analysis, I will briefly discuss Indigenous resurgence's criticism of the "politics of recognition," the centrality of land to understandings of decolonization as well as to visions of resurgence found in the writings of Leanne Betasamosake Simpson and others.

In *Red Skin, White Masks*, a central text within Indigenous resurgence, Yellowknives Dene scholar Glen Coulthard critiques what he deems a "liberal politics of recognition," an "approach to reconciling Indigenous peoples' assertions of nationhood with settler-state sovereignty via the accommodation of Indigenous identity-related claims through the negotiation of settlements over issues such as land, economic development, and self-government."[75] For resurgence thinkers, these modes of Indigenous politics serve to buttress settler colonialism. Settler colonialism is not reducible to racism or exploitation but is fundamentally a matter of land, "because the settlers make Indigenous land their new home and source of capital, and also because the disruption of Indigenous relationships to land represents a profound epistemic, ontological, cosmological violence."[76] Drawing upon Patrick Wolfe's famous adage that settler colonialism is "a structure not an event,"[77] Indigenous resurgence thinkers argue that strategies of reconciliation or recognition remain "structurally

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[73] Elliott, "Indigenous Resurgence: Engagement and Reciprocity."
[74] Sheryl R. Lightfoot, "The Pessimism Traps of Indigenous Resurgence," in *Pessimism in International Relations: Provocations, Possibilities, Politics*, ed. Tim Stevens and Nicholas Michelsen (London, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020), 156; Coulthard, *Red Skin, White Masks*, 15-17.
[75] Coulthard, *Red Skin, White Masks*, 151.
[76] Tuck and Yang, *Decolonization is Not a Metaphor*, 5.
[77] Patrick Wolfe, "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native," *Journal of Genocide Research* 8, no. 4 (2006): pp. 388.

committed to the dispossession" of Indigenous peoples by accepting the legitimacy of the settler state.[78]

The goal of recognition is fundamentally antithetical to the project of decolonization as articulated by Eve Tuck and K. Wayne Yang. In their seminal article, "Decolonization is Not a Metaphor," they write:

> Though the details are not fixed or agreed upon, in our view, decolonization in the settler colonial context must involve the repatriation of land simultaneous to the recognition of how land and relations to land have always already been differently understood and enacted; that is, *all* of the land, and not just symbolically. This is precisely why decolonization is necessarily unsettling, especially across lines of solidarity.[79]

Tuck and Yang argue that social justice discourses that center around "decolonizing" curriculum or patterns of thought constitute "settler moves to innocence" in that they allow the settler to "problematically attempt to reconcile settler guilt and complicity, and rescue settler futurity" by bracketing questions of land.[80] Decolonization is necessarily unsettling in the settler colonial context precisely because it runs along a different "track" than other social justice projects.[81] In the settler colony, "empire, settlement, and internal colony have no spatial separation. Each of these features… make[s] it a site of contradictory decolonial desires."[82] To prevent the innocence-saving elision of land-based decolonization from social justice work, Tuck and Yang call for an "ethic of incommensurability" that recognizes the "portions of [human and civil rights based social justice] projects that simply cannot speak to one another, cannot be aligned or allied" which I return to in the final section.[83]

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[78] Coulthard *Red Skin, White Masks*, 151.
[79] Tuck and Yang, *Decolonization is Not a Metaphor*,7
[80] Tuck and Yang, *Decolonization is Not a Metaphor*, 3.
[81] Tuck and Yang, *Decolonization is Not a Metaphor*, 7.
[82] Tuck and Yang, *Decolonization is Not a Metaphor*, 7.
[83] Tuck and Yang, *Decolonization is Not a Metaphor*, 28.

In Indigenous resurgence, decolonization is not a metaphor and therefore not a linear path to follow. This is where practices of resurgence enter into the picture. Resurgence refers to everyday practices that assert Indigenous nationhood through grounded cultural practices and relations that engage the "spiritual, cultural, economic, social and political scope of the struggle" against settler colonialism.[84] The tremendous diversity of peoples under the label Indigenous means that resurgence is always culturally particular since "each Indigenous nation has its own way of articulating and asserting self-determination and freedom."[85] In a written interview with Eve Tuck, Nishnaabeg scholar-activist Leanne Betasamosake Simpson describes Indigenous resurgence as such:

> Indigenous resurgence, in its most radical form, is nation building, not nation-state building, but nation building… [which] creates profoundly different ways of thinking, organizing, and being because the Indigenous processes that give birth to our collective resurgence are fundamentally nonhierarchical, nonexploitative, nonextractivist, and nonauthoritarian[86]

The fulcrum of these "different ways of thinking, organizing, and being" is inhabiting what is described as "grounded normativity" by Glen Coulthard and Leanne Betasamosake Simpson, referring to "the systems of ethics that are continuously generated by a relationship with a particular place, with land, through the Indigenous processes and knowledges that make up Indigenous life."[87] I elaborate upon

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[84] Jeff Corntassel, "Re-Envisioning Resurgence: Indigenous Pathways to Decolonization and Sustainable Self-Determination," *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society, 1(1).* 1, no. 1 (2012): pp. 86-101;.Corntassel 2012, 88; Simpson, *As We Have Always Done*, 17; Coulthard, *Red Skin, White Masks,* 165-179; Alfred and Corntassel, "Being Indigenous: Resurgences Against Colonialism."

[85] Alfred and Corntassel, "Being Indigenous: Resurgences Against Colonialism," 614.

[86] Leanne Betasamosake Simpson, "Indigenous Resurgence and Co-Resistance," *Critical Ethnic Studies* 2, no. 2 (2016): 22-23.

[87] Simpson, "Indigenous Resurgence and Co-Resistance," 22; Coulthard, *Red Skin, White Masks.*

both Coulthard and Simpson's analysis of grounded normativity and use it to engage intersectional understanding of materiality and cosmology in section four. In pursuing practices that re/create or sustain these modes of living and relation with the land, nonhuman life, and other people, resurgence thinkers are by no means oblivious to how the material dispossession of settler colonialism has also operated biopolitically, epistemologically, and subjectively and how those operations can "problematically inform [their] efforts at Indigenous resurgence."[88] Leanne Betasamosake Simpson has also written extensively on the necessity of centering a rejection and disentanglement of heteropatriarchy as a "foundational dispossessive force" within settler colonialism that risks seeping into resurgence project through uncritical cultural essentialism.[89] The centrality of land to the continuation and regeneration of Indigenous ontological and ethical frameworks in Indigenous resurgence renders any distinction between material and cultural forms of political struggle meaningless. Succinctly, resurgence is decolonization.

On Discreteness

I find it necessary to address a potential counter-argument before conducting my analysis. Some might object that my methodology and analysis falsely approach intersectionality and Indigenous resurgence as discrete entities, erasing the work of scholar-practitioners as well as movement spaces where these projects mingle, conjoin, and harmonize. If Indigenous resurgence thinkers and activists are already using intersectionality, then why is there a need for non-Indigenous practitioners of intersectionality to self-reflect in this area? It is not my intention to present intersectionality and Indigenous resurgence as isolated projects as there are points of convergence. However, these convergences are surprisingly limited compared to intersectionality's utilization in other movement spaces.

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[88] Coulthard, *Red Skin, White Masks*, 156.
[89] Simpson, *As We Have Always Done*, 52; Simpson, "Indigenous Resurgence and Co-Resistance."

For example, Coulthard makes passing mention to the need for "intersectional analysis" of settler colonialism in *Red Skin, White Masks* but does not extrapolate the function of intersectionality within his thinking or engage the literature of intersectionality any further.[90] Métis Secwepemc scholar and social worker Natalie Clark draws upon her experience in front-line work on violence with Indigenous girls to argue for a shift in intersectional thinking that recognizes Indigenous nationhood.[91] While her work constitutes a convergence of both schools of thought, it does not engage any of the three lines of self-reflection explored here. These examples were the only examples I was able to find of Indigenous resurgence writers employing intersectionality in their work. While I am sure there are more instances, it remains justifiable to conclude that intersectionality is by no means widespread within Indigenous resurgence and therefore a working distinction can be drawn between the two knowledge projects while still acknowledging how they inter-mingle. Further, the existence of convergences between intersectionality and Indigenous resurgence does not imply that non-Indigenous practitioners cannot refine their intersectionality in response to the claims of Indigenous resurgence.

III. Settler Intersectionality: Colonial Traps of Intersectional Analysis

In this section of the paper, I discuss two colonial pitfalls, where holding intersectionality together with Indigenous resurgence thought threatens to not only dull the decolonial edges of resurgence but also reproduce colonial relations of knowledge production. One of the primary strengths and avenues of insight in intersectional analysis is its emphasis on relationality, which often manifests by setting multiple traditions of knowledge and resistance in dialogue to examine the

[90] Coulthard, *Red Skin, White Masks*, 14.
[91] Natalie Clark, "Red Intersectionality and Violence-Informed Witnessing Praxis with Indigenous Girls," *Girlhood Studies* 9, no. 2 (January 2016), https://doi.org/10.3167/ghs.2016.090205.

interlocking and mutually constructed nature of systems of power.[92] Patricia Hill Collins argues in *Intersectionality as Critical Social Theory* that "dialogical engagement" with resistant knowledge projects both inside and outside the academy constitutes "the glue that catalyzes both new knowledge and a new political praxis" in sustaining the critical edge of intersectionality's cognitive architecture.[93] However, this method of placing various positionally-situated analytic and epistemic schools in dialogue runs the risk of intellectually subsuming and co-opting Indigenous resurgence thought.

Because intersectionality occupies such a paradigmatic position within feminist circles and many fields of academia, its dialogical engagement with Indigenous resurgence as a "resistant knowledge project" cannot escape the power relations that structure the academy and the privileging of settler epistemologies in settler societies which creates two colonial pitfalls that intersectionality must strive to avoid. On one level, dialogical engagement with Indigenous resurgence could make the mistake of reading resurgence as simply a single-axis project grounded in rejecting settler colonialism. This would overlook the consistent analysis among resurgence thinkers that interrogates the relationship between settler colonialism and anti-blackness,[94] heteropatriarchy,[95] and capitalism.[96] Further, however, it would make possible an engagement that only results in adding "settler-colonial" or "Indigenous" to an expanding laundry list of systems of power without deeper recognition of the centrality of settler colonialism as the focal point of resurgence or interrogation of the relationships between settler colonialism and the other constituent systems in intersectional analysis. The dangers of this additive approach to intersectional analysis that "simply continues to add new categories of analysis with self-reflection about how each category changes all the

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[92] Collins and Bilge, *Intersectionality*.
[93] Collins, *Intersectionality as Critical Social Theory*, 146.
[94] Tuck and Yang, "Decolonization is Not a Metaphor," 3-4.
[95] Simpson, *As We Have Always Done*.
[96] Coulthard, *Red Skin, White Masks*.

others" has been well-documented within intersectionality scholarship,[97] even if these warnings have not always been heeded.

The risk of this approach to mediating Indigenous resurgence and intersectionality is not just poor analytic rigor, however, but a recreation of settler conceptions of both settler colonialism and decolonial praxis. In the last two years, a plethora of articles from Indigenous resurgence thinkers have critiqued the spread of land acknowledgments as an increasingly mainstream practice, arguing that they do little to move the needle on the restitution of land, cessation of dispossession, and further serve to create an insidious façade of decolonial praxis.[98] Likewise, just incorporating the terms "settler state," "Indigenous," or "settler colonial" into the intersectional lexicon might temporarily interrupt the erasure of Indigeneity from intersectional analysis, but it will do little of substance to reckon with the criticisms and demands held forth by resurgence thinkers. Instead, adoption of the language of resurgence would most likely serve as what Eve Tuck and K. Wayne Yang call a "settler move to innocence," which "problematically attempt[s] to reconcile settler guilt and complicity… [and] ultimately represent settler fantasies of easier paths to reconciliation."[99] Instead, intersectionality's engagement with Indigenous resurgence must strive to keep the language of resurgence embedded in the cultural-theoretical frameworks which sustain and give meaning to it, while at the same time refusing to collapse resurgence's account of settler colonialism into a unit of an undifferentiated list.

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[97] Collins, *Intersectionality as Critical Social Theory*, 232; Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*, 2nd ed. (New York: Routledge, 1999), 182-3.

[98] Theresa Stewart-Ambo and K. Wayne Yang, "Beyond Land Acknowledgment in Settler Institutions," *Social Text* 39, no. 1 (January 2021): pp. 21-46, https://doi.org/10.1215/01642472-8750076; Lila Asher, Joe Curnow, and Amil Davis, "The Limits of Settlers' Territorial Acknowledgments," *Curriculum Inquiry* 48, no. 3 (2018): pp. 316-334, https://doi.org/10.1080/03626784.2018.1468211.

[99] Tuck and Yang, "Decolonization is Not a Metaphor," 3-4.

Even if this pitfall is avoided by keeping the genealogy of Indigenous resurgence distinct in dialogical engagement, this approach risks positioning intersectionality as the meta-framework through which other projects relate to one another. Slotting Indigenous resurgence into a Western epistemic and analytic framework limits the terms through which resurgence can operate as an independent non-Western collection of approaches. Nicole Latulippe and Nicole Klenk have examined how efforts to "decolonize" environmental science through the incorporation of Indigenous knowledges into land management have approached Indigenous environmental knowledges as "mere 'data' that can be slotted into exogeneous western scientific models" rather as "embodied, relational, and place-based systems."[100] This results in the further erasure of Indigenous worldviews and framing of Western scientific approaches as universal.[101]

Patricia Hill Collins' model of "dialogical engagement" across resistant knowledge projects falls into this colonial trap. Although Collins acknowledges the need to be cognizant of unequal power relations that structure dialogue within and across interpretative communities and resistant knowledge projects,[102] she also positions intersectionality's role as distinct from the objects of dialogue. She writes intersectionality must focus on "placing multiple resistant knowledge projects in dialogue, with an eye toward pooling intellectual resources on the meaning of resistance within intersectionality's critical theorizing"[103] Intersectionality is the agent of engagement that acts upon resistant knowledge projects, utilizing their resources to deepen its own praxiological vision. Intersectionality "must become an intellectual leader" which draws upon different resistant knowledge

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[100] Nicole Latulippe and Nicole Klenk, "Making Room and Moving over: Knowledge Co-Production, Indigenous Knowledge Sovereignty and the Politics of Global Environmental Change Decision-Making," *Current Opinion in Environmental Sustainability* 42 (2020): pp. 7-14, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cosust.2019.10.010, 7.
[101] Latulippe and Klenk, "Making Room and Moving Over," 11-12.
[102] Collins, *Intersectionality as Critical Social Theory*, 146-7.
[103] Collins, *Intersectionality as Critical Social Theory*, 120.

projects (without being confined to one itself).[104] In Collins' view, intersectionality is well-positioned as the metaphorical framework for "interactions among disparate individuals, communities of inquiry, and knowledge projects."[105]

However, situating intersectionality as the master interlocutor recreates the same relationship that Latulippe and Klenk criticize in land management by elevating Western social theory/science as the meta-theory through which Indigenous approaches must be understood and related to other projects. Instead, intersectionality must engage Indigenous resurgence as a sovereign project that cannot be subsumed within intersectional thought. The end goal of dialogical engagement cannot be the "pooling of intellectual resources on the meaning of resistance within intersectionality's critical theorizing" as Patricia Hill Collins suggests.[106] The intellectual and political resources of Indigenous resurgence are not intersectionality's to pool. Although intersectionality does emerge from a long and storied tradition of Black feminist resistance, it cannot assume that resistances are fungible. Collins' model of dialogical engagement might have good intentions, but externally applying it to Indigenous knowledge projects such as Indigenous resurgence is a form of colonial expropriation of Indigenous knowledges. This does not mean that intersectionality should ignore resistant knowledge projects. Rather, engagement should be understood as a generative process of self-reflection with the understanding that intersectionality cannot lay claim to or incorporate every project.

IV. Grounding Intersectionality & Cosmological Difference

In this section, I engage the concept of "grounded normativity" within the work of Glen Coulthard and Leanna Betasamosake Simpson and argue that grounded normativity can catalyze critical self-reflexivity in two areas of intersectional thought. First, considering

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[104] Collins, *Intersectionality as Critical Social Theory*, 188.
[105] Collins, *Intersectionality as Critical Social Theory*, 146.
[106] Collins, *Intersectionality as Critical Social Theory*, 120.

grounded normativity reveals how intersectionality could be served by centering analysis of spatial location and embodiment as the material aspects of difference. Second, the resurgence of grounded normativities forces a reckoning with the multiplicity of worlds that beings inhabit and gestures toward the need to develop a greater sensitivity within intersectional analysis across lines of cosmological difference.

Weledeh Yellowknives Dene political theorist Glen Coulthard introduced the term grounded normativity to describe the ethical and cosmological foundation from which Dene struggled against Canadian colonial extraction in the 1970s and 80s.[107] Coulthard describes grounded normativity as "the modalities of Indigenous land-connected practices and longstanding experiential knowledge that inform and structure our ethical engagements with the world and our relationships with human and nonhuman others over time."[108] Therefore, land cannot simply be understood as a "material object of profound importance to Indigenous cultures (although it is this too); instead, it ought to be understood as a field of 'relationships of things to each other.'"[109] In Coulthard's description of Dene thought, these relationships form a network of reciprocal obligations and mutual interdependence between Dene and "the land, animals, plants, and lakes in much the same way that we hold obligations to other people."[110] Rather simply a characteristic of a being at a given moment, "place is a way of knowing, of experiencing and relating to the world and with others."[111] Michi Saagii Nishnaabeg writer Leanne Betasamosake Simpson adopts Coulthard term as an academic formulation of Nishnaabewin, "all of the Nishnaabeg practices and ethical processes that make us Nishnaabeg."[112] She argues that Indigenous resurgence requires "nation-based grounded normativities

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[107] Coulthard, *Red Skin, White Masks*, 52-78.
[108] Coulthard, *Red Skin, White Masks*, 13.
[109] Coulthard, *Red Skin, White Masks*, 61.
[110] Coulthard, *Red Skin, White Masks*, 61.
[111] Coulthard, *Red Skin, White Masks*, 61.
[112] Simpson, *As We Have Always Done*, 19.

because these are the intelligence systems that hold the potential, the theory as practice, for making ethical, sustainable Indigenous worlds."[113] Simpson sees the work of resurgence as a multiplicity of "place-based, nation-based" grounded normativities which come into mutual solidarity "within a network of other Indigenous nations doing the same."[114]

The role of place in Coulthard and Simpson's articulation of grounded normativity contrasts with the role of place in intersectional scholarship. Practitioners of intersectionality employ multiple categories of analysis and identity in their understandings of the complexity of power. Among publications claiming intersectional analysis, race, class, and gender are most often joined in multi-categorial analysis by "sexuality, nation, ethnicity, age, and ability."[115] Place, location, or space, however, are not often incorporated as categories of analysis. Of course, intersectionality itself is a spatial metaphor[116] and intersectional thought is rife with spatial metaphors inherited from Black feminism (intersecting/interlocking systems, positionality, the matrix/axes of domination, etc.).[117] As a component of social analysis, however, there have been only a couple instances where practitioners of intersectionality have grappled with place, and where they have the results have been mixed.

On one hand, feminist scholars of geography have long been incorporating intersectionality into their research on the social construction of space.[118] However, these lines of inquiry have mostly

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[113] Simpson, *As We Have Always Done*, 25.
[114] Glen Coulthard and Leanne Betasamosake Simpson, "Grounded Normativity / Place-Based Solidarity," *American Quarterly* 68, no. 2 (2016): pp. 249-255, https://doi.org/10.1353/aq.2016.0038, 254; Simpson, *As We Have Always Done*, 178.
[115] Collins, "Intersectionality's Definitional Dilemmas," 12.
[116] Crenshaw, "Mapping the Margins."
[117] Sharlene Mollett and Caroline Faria, "The Spatialities of Intersectional Thinking: Fashioning Feminist Geographic Futures," *Gender, Place & Culture* 25, no. 4 (February 2018): pp. 565-577, https://doi.org/10.1080/0966369x.2018.1454404, 570-571.
[118] Mollett and Faria, "The Spatialities of Intersectional Thinking," 566.

framed place as a function of intersecting systems of race, class, and gender and less on Indigeneity and relationships to place as a form of settler colonial difference.[119] In another subdiscipline, the sociologist of migration scholar Floya Anthias has brought location to intersectional analysis in her scholarship on the shifting and often contradictory formulations of intersecting identity categories and power relations as people are in transit between locations.[120] However, this and similar efforts to theorize place within intersectionality only operate on questions of transnational movement and therefore do not engage place as a grounding factor. Lastly, political scientist Kara Ellerby incorporates "geography" as an axis of analysis within her intersectional critique of international "gender equality" policies as an explicit attempt to address the "legacy and continuation of colonialism."[121] However, her analysis of the geographical dimensions of identity and power are confined to analytic distinctions between the "Global North" and "Global South,"[122] which fails to account for the role of place in Indigeneity or settlement. Overall, place within intersectional scholarship remains under-theorized which creates a significant impediment to intersectionality's critical ambitions.

By engaging the concept grounded normativity within Indigenous resurgence, intersectionality can develop a more robust understanding of place as physical location and place concerning identity. First, intersectional analysis must tie its understandings of social position to place as physical location, since physical location

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[119] Sarah Hunt, "Ontologies of Indigeneity: The Politics of Embodying a Concept," *Cultural Geographies* 21, no. 1 (2014): pp. 27-32, https://doi.org/10.1177/1474474013500226, 29.; Mollett and Faria, "The Spatialities of Intersectional Thinking," 572-3.

[120] Floya Anthias, "Transnational Mobilities, Migration Research and Intersectionality: towards a Translocational Frame," *Nordic Journal of Migration Research* 2, no. 2 (January 2012): pp. 102-110, https://doi.org/10.2478/v10202-011-0032-y.

[121] Kara Ellerby, "Radical Equity: The Case for a More Intersectional Future for Gender Equity in Global Politics" (lecture, Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies, Notre Dame, IN, December 2, 2021).

[122] Kara Ellerby, *No Shortcut to Change: An Unlikely Path to a More Gender-Equitable World* (New York: New York University Press, 2017), 71.

operates as an axis of power within the terrain of the settler colony, which eliminates the strict demarcation between the metropole and the colony and regulates Indigenous and Black peoples through spatially-oriented violences of elimination, dislocation, relegation.[123] Second, practitioners of intersectionality should strive to pay greater attention to how place functions in relation to identity. By this, I mean going beyond place as physical location to also analyze how differing relationships to place change the organization of power and formation of identity in a particular context. While Coulthard and Simpson's analysis demonstrates that social relationships cannot be understood apart from place for the Dene and Nishnaabeg, I would argue that place, though playing a *very* different role, is also critical for understanding the social relationships of settlers and other non-Indigenous peoples within settler states. The relationships to place are not the same for settlers, but this does not mean that a relationship to place does not exist. A white English woman located in England, for example, has a qualitatively distinct relationship to their own physical location compared to a white English-descended American with dual British-American citizenship which cannot be captured in pre-existing analyses of race, gender, or nationality.

Next, I turn to potential strides for intersectionality which are necessitated by theorizing place's varying relationships to identity and social structure across colonial lines of ontological and cosmological difference. Cosmology refers to a foundational "theory of the universe" which "specifies what is and what is not, what can be and what cannot."[124] A shared cosmology creates a common "framework in which to understand place, personhood and the world."[125] In this way, cosmologies define the "the field of ontological and

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[123] Tuck and Yang, "Decolonization is Not a Metaphor," 5.
[124] J. Marshall Beier, *International Relations in Uncommon Places: Indigeneity, Cosmology, and the Limits of International Theory* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 45.
[125] Justin de Leon, "Lakota Experiences of (in)Security: Cosmology and Ontological Security," *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 22, no. 1 (2018): pp. 33-62, https://doi.org/10.1080/14616742.2018.1527183, 39.

epistemological possibilities" through what they make legible and illegible.[126] These conflicting sets of possibilities create the conditions for ontological conflicts, "conflicting stories about 'what is there' and how they constitute realities in power-charged fields."[127] In the context of the settler colony, Tuck and Yang write that colonialism operates not only materially as a function of land, but also through the obfuscation, devaluation and extermination of Indigenous cosmologies and ontologies.[128] The power dynamics between different cosmologies and ontologies as they inevitably come into contact and negotiate (almost never on equal footing) claims about the nature of the world and being are referred to as "ontological politics."[129] Intersectionality must develop a vision for navigating ontological politics which embodies "a sensitivity to the negotiations between often competing ontologies."[130] More specifically, this strategy must first locate the origin point and locus of intersectionality in Western cosmology and epistemology, which is, of course, heterogenous and internally contested but is distinct from cosmologies rooted in grounded normativity. This recognition of the non-universality of intersectionality's epistemic and ontological foundation must be coupled with two interrelated dispositions.

First, practitioners of intersectionality must create space for ontological difference to exist on its own terms within intersectional scholarship by "accept[ing] that our Western ways of measuring truth in the world are not superior to forms of assessment grounded in

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[126] Beier, *International Relations in Uncommon Places*, 45.
[127] Mario Blaser, "Ontological Conflicts and the Stories of Peoples in Spite of Europe," *Current Anthropology* 54, no. 5 (2013): pp. 547-568, https://doi.org/10.1086/672270, 548.
[128] Tuck and Yang, "Decolonization is Not a Metaphor," 5.
[129] Martha Chaves et al., "Towards Transgressive Learning through Ontological Politics: Answering the 'Call of the Mountain' in a Colombian Network of Sustainability," *Sustainability* 9, no. 1 (2016): pp. 1-19, https://doi.org/10.3390/su9010021, 3.
[130] Martha Chaves et al., "Towards Transgressive Learning through Ontological Politics," 1.

different epistemologies."[131] This requires the "unsettling" of the universal claims of intersectionality's ontological bedrock to create the possibility of decolonial theorizing within intersectionality.[132] For example, María José Mendez argues that Western cosmology's uncritical acceptance of a human-nonhuman dichotomy that situates intentionality and agency only on the human side means "translating those worlds for which subaltern peoples sacrifice their lives" becomes an impossibility within intersectionality.[133] Intersectionality must come to see itself as inhabiting one world among many. The second component of this strategy for navigating ontological politics is to cultivate comfortability "with the humility of an epistemic uncertainty."[134] Faced with ontological pluralism, intersectionality must resist attempting to piece together a meta-narrative by "claiming to know the real characteristic of all relationships or the overarching relationship that connects all relationships."[135] Rather than "exorcis[ing] the threatening difference of other worldings by taming them and allowing them to exist just as cultural perspectives on a singular reality," intersectionality must recognize that it is built on an ontology that cannot simply subsume other worlds through the language of "cultural difference."[136] This does not mean that intersectional analysis should ignore cosmological difference, but rather should refuse to either explain it away or render it legible within the constructs of its own cosmological framework. This echoes my analysis of dialogical engagement in the third section, returning to the point that not all ways of knowing or being in the world need to be incorporated or understood by intersectionality.

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[131] María José Méndez, "'The River Told Me': Rethinking Intersectionality from the World of Berta Cáceres," *Capitalism Nature Socialism* 29, no. 1 (February 2018): pp. 7-24, https://doi.org/10.1080/10455752.2017.1421981, 18.
[132] Mendez, "The River Told Me," 19-22.
[133] Mendez, "The River Told Me," 18.
[134] Marcos S. Scauso, *Intersectional Decoloniality: Reimagining International Relations and the Problem of Difference* (New York: Routledge, 2021), 221.
[135] Scauso, *Intersectional Decoloniality*, 221.
[136] Mario Blaser, "Ontological Conflicts and the Stories of Peoples," 555.

Though we must be at peace with the existence of a critical "outside" to intersectionality, this does not mean that forms of intersectionality cannot exist in cosmologies other than Western ways of being. Leanne Betasamosake Simpson writes in *As We Have Always Done* that although she "strongly believe[s] that Indigenous thought must propel resurgence," she also believes that "Western liberatory theories can be very useful to Indigenous scholarship and mobilization particularly when they are considered *within* grounded normativity or *within* Indigenous thought systems."[137] The crucial distinction, however, comes in who is attempting to operationalize intersectionality within different cosmologies or resurgences. It is not the job of non-Indigenous practitioners to facilitate the adoption of intersectionality within Indigenous resurgence movements or other spaces of cosmological difference. It is, however, the job of non-Indigenous practitioners of intersectionality to create the conditions for intersectionality's adoption across lines of difference if members of those communities decide to adopt it by ridding intersectionality of the pretenses of cosmological universality.

V. Incommensurability & the Decolonial Challenge to Coalitional Identity

One of the core tenets of intersectionality's praxiology is the linkage between an intersectional analysis of identity categories and a coalitional approach to identity politics that dovetails with intersectionality's focus on relationality.[138] This focus on coalition has exhibited various levels of primacy across the breadth of scholarship which resides under the banner of intersectionality.[139] Anna Carastathis, however, distinguishes between an intersectional approach that only looks at identity groups as fixed categories and one which

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[137] Simpson, *As We Have Always Done*, 56.
[138] Collins and Bilge, *Intersectionality*, 42-5, 132-4, 142.
[139] Anna Carastathis, "Identity Categories as Potential Coalitions," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 38, no. 4 (2013): pp. 941-965, https://doi.org/10.1086/669573, 942-6.

analyzes identity categories as already coalitions across lines of internal difference.[140] As early as 1991, Crenshaw argued that intersectionality "provides a basis for reconceptualizing race as a coalition between men and women of color"[141] Carastathis argues that this conceptualization of identity refocuses attention on the "intersectionalities within" categories of identity, which allows for the "integration of intersectional identities that are disparaged, denied visibility, and marginalized within identity-based politics."[142] According to Carastathis, this mode of intersectional thought facilitates the "collective ability to integrate struggles against simultaneous oppression(s)."[143] This integration of struggles does not rely on finding what is the same between overlapping identity categories but rather is grounded in "political practices constellated around solidarity" across both lines of difference and sameness that emerge through an understanding of the multiplicity of identity.[144] In other words, "if identities are always already multiple rather than singular, identity politics needs to pursue multiple political goals, goals around which multiple overlapping groups might coalesce."[145]

The vision of decolonization emerging from Indigenous resurgence is cause to adjust how practitioners of intersectionality see the relationship between an intersectional analysis of identities as coalitions and the possibility of coalitional praxis. Tuck and Yang ground their understanding of decolonization in what they call an "ethic of incommensurability" which recognizes "what is distinct, what is sovereign for project(s) of decolonization in relation to human and civil rights based social justice projects" and that the material demands of decolonization and portion of human/civil rights projects "simply cannot speak to one another, cannot be aligned or allied."[146]

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[140] Anna Carastathis, "Identity Categories as Potential Coalitions."
[141] Crenshaw, "Mapping the Margins," 1299.
[142] Carastathis, "Identity Categories as Potential Coalitions," 961.
[143] Carastathis, "Identity Categories as Potential Coalitions," 961.
[144] May, *Pursuing Intersectionality*, 48.
[145] Carastathis, *Intersectionality: Origins, Contestations, Horizons*, 190.
[146] Tuck and Yang, "Decolonization is Not a Metaphor," 28.

Movements seeking the equal/re-distribution of resources become "entangled with settler colonialism because those resources were nature/Native first, then enlisted into the service of settlement and thus almost impossible to reclaim without re-occupying Native land."[147] For example, they highlight how movements for abolition and reparations often center around the transferal of seized Indigenous land/capital which "presumes the expansion of settlers who own Native land and life via inclusion of emancipated slaves and prisoners into the settler nation-state."[148] The reparation of "40 acres of Indian land" cannot be reconciled with a project seeking the repatriation of that same land to Indigenous sovereignty.[149] Tuck and Yang don't argue that projects of decolonization cannot be aligned, instead "opportunities for solidarity lie in what is incommensurable rather than what is common across these efforts."[150] Further, the goal should not be coalescence or long-term solidarities, but rather strategic and contingent collaborations that do not presume reconcilable end goals across projects.[151]

Carastathis attempts to reconcile Tuck and Yang's account of the incommensurability of decolonization with her intersectional approach to coalitions but falls short of reckoning with the magnitude of incommensurability. She argues that an intersectional approach reveals how the process of settler colonialism is gendered (by no means insight unique to intersectional thought).[152] Further, she claims "an intersectional politics of coalition" that "enable[s] the construction of mass movements" can "intimate the decolonial 'elsewheres' that all of us— on all sides of colonial divides— urgently need to imagine."[153]

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147 Tuck and Yang, "Decolonization is Not a Metaphor," 19.
148 Tuck and Yang, "Decolonization is Not a Metaphor," 29.
149 Tuck and Yang, "Decolonization is Not a Metaphor," 30.
150 Tuck and Yang, "Decolonization is Not a Metaphor," 30.
151 Eve Tuck et al., "Geotheorizing Black/Land: Contestations and Contingent Collaborations," *Departures in Critical Qualitative Research* 3, no. 1 (2013): pp. 52-74, https://doi.org/10.1525/dcqr.2014.3.1.52; Tuck and Yang, "Decolonization is Not a Metaphor," 28-36.
152 Carastathis, *Intersectionality: Origins, Contestations, Horizons*, 231.
153 Carastathis, *Intersectionality: Origins, Contestations, Horizons*, 232.

This argument reveals a misreading of Tuck and Yang's approach to incommensurability as it presumes that decolonization is fundamentally commensurable with mass movements of non-native projects and groups. It is particularly telling that Carastathis sees the end goal of this mass movement as settlers and natives together "imagining" decolonial elsewheres rather than the actual material decolonization of land that leaves settlers landless. The bottom line is that the resurgence's vision of decolonization simply cannot be plugged into intersectionality's current understanding of coalitional praxis

In my analysis, the incommensurability of decolonization problematizes intersectional approaches to coalitional politics in two ways. First, it interrupts an understanding of coalition-building to be a matter of "coalescence" as articulated by Carastathis.[154] Coalescence implies a unity of direction if not substance which understates the fraught and paradoxical nature of collaborations in the context of the settler-colonial state. Seeing coalition-building through this lens undermines the capacity of intersectional projects to interrogate the normalization of settler colonial dispossession. Practitioners of intersectionality should instead theorize coalitions as fragile and temporally bounded. Second, an intersectional understanding of identity as inherently coalitional cannot be seen as necessarily facilitating the creation of coalitions themselves. This teleological relationship between intersectional analysis and praxis, where an intersectional analysis of identity as coalitional always creates an opportunity for coalitional praxis, is only possible when we consider liberatory projects as all fundamentally aimed at the same system of domination. In other words, it assumes that all aces of power and identity are fundamentally bound together and therefore can all be addressed in tandem. The understanding of settler colonialism as an "entangled triad structure of settler-native-slave" that emerges from Tuck and Yang problematizes the idea that fighting for

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[154] Carastathis, *Intersectionality: Origins, Contestations, Horizons*, 190.

social/economic justice is necessarily fighting for the same goal as other groups.[155] Tuck and Yang's ethic of incommensurability holds that certain identity-based projects cannot fundamentally be reconciled with projects of decolonization and therefore it should temper our optimism that intersectional analyses of identities produced through settler colonialism is enough to overcome the fundamental disconnect between civil and human rights based projects with material decolonization. This means that a coalitional understanding of identity does not automatically equate with possibilities for coalitional praxis but at best becomes another tool for identifying contingent collaborations where they might be possible.

VI. Conclusion

Across my three reflexive engagements with the implications of Indigenous resurgence for intersectional thought, I have articulated numerous points of either interruption or development for intersectionality. I compile them here as seven brief theses for the development of intersectionality's critical edge not just concerning Indigenous resurgence or decolonization but as a critical social theory in the making. (1) Practitioners of intersectionality must maintain a complex and multifaceted view of the knowledge projects such as Indigenous resurgence which they engage to avoid reducing them to singular axes to be intersectionally compiled. (2) Intersectionality must understand and operationalize itself as one resistant knowledge project among many rather than a meta-framework or overarching theory for the combination of resistant knowledge projects. (3) Intersectional analysis must develop a more robust understanding of place as an operational axis of identity concerning settler and Indigenous identities but also more broadly. (4) Intersectionality, as it exists in Western academic and activist spaces, must position itself as the intellectual product of a particular Western cosmology that is incapable of subsuming or fully translating other cosmologies into its own terms.

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[155] Tuck and Yang, "Decolonization is Not a Metaphor," 1.

(5) Western practitioners of intersectionality must recognize that the extent and nature of the incorporation of intersectionality within non-Western cosmologies are not questions they can answer. (6) Intersectionality must not understand its praxiological application as furthering a "coalescence" into a singular goal of liberation (7) Intersectionality must not overstate the ability of its coalitional approach to identity to generate inter-movement "coalitions" which are durable, probable, or even fruitful and instead see the value in highlighting potential areas for contingent collaborations. These seven theses can inform not only intersectional analysis within the academy but also the utilization of intersectionality in social movement spaces, particularly in those where Indigenous resurgence groups and mostly non-Indigenous groups find themselves in close coordination such as oil pipeline resistance efforts. Intersectionality can be a powerful tool in the pursuit of justice and liberation, but we must take care to prevent emptying intersectionality of its critical content and/or employing it in ways that, intentionally or not, reinforce colonial power relations.

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